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WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES?

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

In pursuance of the protocol, to which the United States and Spain were parties, the ten plenipotentiaries composing the Hispano-American Commission will meet this month in Paris and endeavor to arrive at an agreement concerning the disposition to be made of the Philippines. If an agreement be reached, it will be embodied in a treaty, together with the other conditions of peace set forth in the protocol, and this treaty will bind the executives of the two countries. That this is fully understood by Mr. McKinley and that he personally has no idea of recurring to war, whatever may be the decision of the Commission, is evident from the fact that he has already given orders for the disbandment of 100,000 volunteers. The treaty will not, however, acquire validity until it has been sanctioned by the Cortes, without the assent of which no Spanish territory can be alienated, and until it has been also ratified by two-thirds of the United States Senate. Such a ratification may be looked for, even though the terms of peace may be unacceptable to many Senators. The Senate has rejected treaties, but never a treaty of peace. The Treaty of Ghent failed to redress a single one of the grievances which had been proclaimed the causes of the War of 1812; nevertheless, it

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was accepted by the Senate. The treaty which brought to a close the war with Mexico in 1848 was also ratified by the Senate, though it had only three votes to spare; in this case opposition was due to the complaint not that we secured too little, but that we secured too much, and it was parried by an expedient to which we shall presently refer. We may, consequently, take for granted that the Senate will confirm the agreement of the Hispano-American Commission, if any be arrived at, but what the agreement will be is, at present, a matter of conjecture. The very creation of the Commission is proof that Mr. McKinley, at the time when the protocol was signed, had not made up his mind what to do about the Philippines, and that he still remained undetermined as late as Sept. 10, seems a fair inference from his selection of plenipotentiaries. Of the five American Commissioners, two—Senator Davis and Senator Frye—are known to be favorable to the annexation of the whole Philippine archipelago; a third, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, is believed to take similar ground; Judge Day, on the other hand, is understood to have held formerly, if he does not still hold, that we should confine ourselves to securing a coaling station, while Senator Gray is known to have argued and voted against the annexation of Hawaii, and is, therefore, presumably, opposed to the acquisition of dependencies even more remote. We may assume, however, that all the Commissioners would not have accepted the trust reposed in them unless they were prepared to obey the President's final instructions. Those instructions will probably be framed in accordance with what Mr. McKinley believes, at the last moment, to be the prevailing opinion of the country. Public opinion is now well advanced in the process of taking definite shape, after widespread and prolonged discussion, which has been, or should be, directed to two questions, namely, first, what should we wish to do about the Philippines; and, secondly, what are we able to do, in view of the situation created by the protocol? The second question is no less important than the other, although many of our newspapers overlook it altogether and talk as if we were still at liberty to deal with the Philippines as we please; whereas, had such been the President's opinion, he would have announced it as peremptorily as he did the demand for the cession of Porto Rico, and would not have relegated the solution of the Philippine problem to a Commission.

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I.

Two or three months ago, the President's uncertainty regarding the course to be pursued in the Philippines was shared by many of his countrymen. Neither in its moral nor in its economical aspects had the problem been thoroughly examined. There is no doubt that those who organized a conference at Saratoga for the purpose of considering the questions opened by the war, expected therefrom a declaration that, by the teaching and practice of the fathers, we were precluded from seeking any transmarine possessions, and, especially, such as were parted from us by the breadth of the Pacific. As a matter of fact, so rapid was the diffusion of information and the resultant evolution of opinion, that the Saratoga Conference pronounced in favor of annexing not only Porto Rico, but also a port in the Ladrones and the whole, or part, of the Philippines. There is now reason to believe that a large majority of our citizens are thoroughly convinced, first, that, by our victory at Cavite, and the subsequent capture of Manila, we assumed a moral obligation toward the natives of Luzon; secondly, that the obligation can be best discharged by the occupation of all the Philippines, and, thirdly, that no grievous financial burden will be imposed upon our people by the discharge of that obligation, seeing that the natural resources of the Philippines are incalculably great, and that our occupation of them will give us a voice potential in the future regulation of China's trade, wherein we are profoundly interested.

From the viewpoint of these prevalent convictions, let us glance at the several ways in which it has been suggested by the various advisers of the President that the Philippine problem shall be solved. Shall we restore the whole of the Philippines to Spain, retaining only for ourselves a station for coaling and repair, as, for example, the city and harbor of Manila? This we cannot do without forfeiting our self-respect and the respect of the world, for the natives of Luzon, the most populous and civilized island in the group, have notoriously suffered more at the hands of Spain than have the Cubans, and we are ourselves responsible for the latest uprising on their part. Moreover, what Spain could not do, when she had a considerable navy and funds relatively adequate, she certainly could not accomplish now that her navy is well nigh extinct and that her

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treasury is bankrupt; that is to say, establish in the island of Luzon a government which should fulfill the fundamental functions of safeguarding life and property. We may dismiss with a word the fantastic proposal that we should govern Luzon in partnership with Spain. Such a mongrel administration would compel us to share the responsibility for evil doing, while depriving us of power to avert it; Spanish influence, so far as a joint régime permitted its exercise, would be sure to follow the old channels of oppression and embezzlement. Shall we, then, declare the island of Luzon independent, and make over the control of it to Aguinaldo and his followers? It is the consensus of all observers, who have studied at first hand the situation in Luzon, that the Tagals could not establish a durable government of their own. They are an industrious people, docile and easily managed by an administration at once firm and just, but they are very far from possessing the qualifications for self-rule. Shall we, by resigning our own claim to the Philippines, a claim which, being based upon our capture of their capital, was, when the news of the signing of the protocol reached Manila, actually stronger than our claim to Cuba or to Porto Rico, enable Spain to sell them to Russia, France or Germany? By such an act, we should endow with an inestimable coign of vantage in the Far East one of the powers, the whole tendency of whose policy is to minimize our share in China's foreign trade. But Spain, it may be argued, could find a purchaser in Great Britain. We answer that, by the acquisition of the Philippines, Great Britain would acquire the prospect of such preponderance in the Far East that the other powers would feel constrained, by a sense of self-preservation, to avert it by a general war. Our duty to mankind enjoins us not to precipitate a general war, and the surest mode of discharging that duty is to take the Philippines ourselves.

Could we not, however, surmount all difficulties by keeping Luzon, which represents in area rather more than a third of the group, and leaving the rest of the islands to Spain, a promise being exacted from her that they shall not be ceded to any other power? This solution of the problem is said to be favored in influential quarters, but it is open to grave objections. In the first place, it is doubtful if Spain would be able to maintain peace and order in the rest of the archipelago, and, thereby af-

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ford no pretext for foreign intervention. Even when her navy was relatively strong, it was only with difficulty that she was able to repress the pirates, who formerly infested the coasts of Mindanao and the islands of the Sulu group. Suppose, however, that, in the remnant of her possessions, she did contrive to maintain a naval force sufficient for police purposes and gradually did manage to develop a flourishing island empire, we should have at our doors a vindictive neighbor ready to join any coalition that might be formed against us, and, meanwhile, eager to foment disaffection in Luzon, which her profession of a common religion and her familiarity with the customs and the character of the Tagals would facilitate. By such a compromise, in short, we should only invite future trouble, which we can avoid by assuming control of the whole archipelago. The civilizing of the southern islands, which have, collectively, a superficies of about 75,000 square miles, would be a trivial task to the American people, which, in less than a century, has reclaimed the vast region lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

From an economic as well as a humanitarian viewpoint, the work would be worth its cost, for, at the end of a century, the whole Philippine group should be able to support fifty millions of inhabitants, if we may judge by the experience of Java, which, in the course of a hundred years, has seen its population expand from about two to over twenty millions. If it be true, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd contends, that the twentieth century is to witness a vehement struggle for the control of tropical lands upon the part of the nations belonging to the temperate zones, we should enter upon the contest with one of the most valuable prizes attainable in the tropics already in our hands. Nor is it only by their natural resources, capable, as they are, of almost limitless development, nor by the capacious market for our manufactures which they would, eventually, offer, that the Philippines would be of immense utility to the United States. Such is their strategic relation to China that our possession of them would give us an influence at Pekin second only to that of Russia and Great Britain, an influence that we could use to thwart such of the European powers as contemplate a thorough-going partition of the Middle Kingdom, and to co-operate effectively with those that are resolved to uphold what is left of China's territorial integrity and to keep at all events an open door to that most popu-

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lous and resourceful section of the Celestial Empire which is watered by the Yang-tse-Kiang. It is, in a word, freedom of access for American manufacturers to the best part of China which would be powerfully furthered by our retention of the Philippines.

II.

To the first question, then, What should we wish to do about the Phillipines? we answer that we ought to keep not only Manila, not only the whole island of Luzon, but the entire Philippine archipelago, if we are to show ourselves alive to the full purport of our opportunities and to the full scope of our mission in the East. That would be the simplest, safest and cheapest solution of the problem. Is it, however, any longer possible to secure all the Philippines in the new situation created by the protocol?

There is no doubt that President McKinley, before that agreement was signed, could have obtained the Philippines well nigh as easily as he obtained Porto Rico and Cuba, for Manila was known to be upon the point of falling into our hands, which is more than could be said for either San Juan or Havana. Had the Madrid Government proved recalcitrant upon this point, it could have been quickly brought to terms by naval demonstrations against the Carolines, the Canaries, the Balearic Isles and the seaports of the Iberian peninsula. But, when the President forbore to exercise the power which he possessed, and consented to let the fate of the Philippines be determined by a commission, in which Spain should have an equal voice, he, practically, put the retention of all the islands by us out of the question, unless some consideration should be tendered, which would be regarded in Madrid as a *quid pro quo*. For suppose that, in compliance with instructions from Washington, the five American commissioners should concur in demanding the cession to us of all the Philippines, it is absolutely certain that the five Spanish commissioners would, on their part, reject the demand, unless it were coupled with an offer of compensation. We could not blame them for an attitude which must, or should have been, foreseen when the protocol was signed. It is even questionable whether the Spanish commissioners will agree to surrender the whole of the island of Luzon in the absence of any indemnifying proposal. In that event, it may be said, the result of the negotiations will be a

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deadlock, and, if this cannot be broken, both parties will be relegated to the arbitrament of war. We answer that the public opinion of the world would not justify us in recurring to the arbitrament of war after the solution of the Philippine problem had been formally committed by our Executive to a joint commission. We should be told, justly, that if our President was resolved to keep the Philippines, or at least Luzon, he ought, when the protocol was signed, to have proclaimed his resolution as distinctly as he did in the case of Porto Rico, and that, unless we could and would replace Spain in the position occupied by her when hostilities ceased, we should have no right to recur to war, merely because the Spanish commissioners saw fit to exercise the equal voice which the protocol conferred on them. This is indisputably true. Our Government has, voluntarily, made the disposition of the Philippines a subject for negotiation, and it could not, with any show of decency, make a deadlock the pretext for a recourse to arms.

When the President begins to ponder the methods of escaping from the predicament in which the protocol has placed him, he will find a suggestive precedent in the treatment which Mexico received at the hands of President Polk in 1848. At that time General Scott occupied the Mexican capital, and the entire Mexican republic was undeniably at our mercy. We might have annexed the whole of it, but public opinion in the Northern States would not have tolerated such a sweeping exercise of the right of conquest; indeed, it was even indisposed to brook an extensive mutilation of a sister commonwealth. Under these circumstances, it was decided that, although we had demonstrated the possession of a giant's strength, we would not use it like a giant, and our commissioners were instructed not to exact from Mexico a single acre by right of conquest, but to offer $15,000,000 in cash and the assumption of debts amounting to $3,000,000 due from Mexico to American citizens, in exchange for the tract comprising California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico. The purchase money now seems ludicrously small, but it was eagerly accepted by the provisional Mexican Government, the full extent of the mineral wealth of the ceded territory being, as yet, unguessed at. The result of this remarkable transaction, which, so far as we know, has no counterpart in history, and which presents a striking contrast to the treatment of France by Germany in 1871, dis-

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armed, in a considerable degree, the opposition of our Northern States to the dismemberment of Mexico, and the treaty of peace was ratified by the Senate.

The bearing of this precedent upon the situation created by the protocol is obvious. It is most improbable that, without some compensation, the Spanish commissioners will agree to give up the Philippines, or even the island of Luzon. On the other hand, the maintenance of their authority in the rest of the islands would require an outlay of blood and treasure which they are ill able to afford. The Madrid Government could escape from the dilemma, and, to use the Chinese phrase, "save its face" in the eyes of the Spanish people, if, in return for a cession of all the Philippines, it could secure such a sum of money as would, to a moderate extent, relieve the necessities of its exchequer. As it happens, a relatively insignificant part of the Spanish debt is saddled upon the revenues of the Philippines. This our commissioners might consent to assume, and they might even go a little further, and agree to make the United States, or Independent Cuba, responsible for a fifth part of the so-called Cuban debt. Why do we designate this particular fraction? Because, when the Autonomist government was instituted in Cuba, it was stipulated by the Autonomists that the insular revenues should be liable for only a fifth of the Cuban debt, inasmuch as by the most liberal estimate not more than a fifth of the money borrowed in Cuba's name could be regarded as having been applied to the welfare of the island. The Philippine debt and one-fifth of the Cuban debt would not, together, amount to much more than $100,000,000, a sum which we could borrow at three per cent., or, for that matter, easily spare from our national revenue, distended as this has been by the war taxes. We opine that an offer on our part to assume the indebtedness mentioned would secure the assent of the Spanish commissioners to the relinquishment of all the Philippines, and we doubt if their assent to such a proposal can be gained in any other way.

But why, it may be asked, should we buy what we have conquered? We answer that the question comes too late. It should have been put before the signing of the protocol, whereby in the disposition of the Philippines the Spaniards acquired an equal voice.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

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OUR POLICY IN CHINA.

BY MARK B. DUNNELL, FORMERLY DEPUTY CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES AT SHANGHAI.

CHINA has been given a new lease of life. Not her own strength, but the jealousies and fears of England, Germany, Russia and France have averted the threatened partition. She has secured a short stay of execution by yielding every demand. If, in the respite, she fails to introduce necessary reforms and put herself in a strong defensive condition, there will be little sympathy for her in any future humiliations that may befall.

Although the powers have stopped short of partition, they have secured concessions that will work a fundamental change in their relation to China and one another in the Far East. Although our Government has stood aloof in the recent negotiations, it has not been because we were not concerned, but rather in accordance with our customary practice of culpably ignoring our interests abroad. As respects number of residents and volume of trade, the United States has larger interests in China than any European power save England. And yet, when these large interests were threatened, our Government ignominiously left their defence to England. If the administration has any policy in China it would appear to be the inglorious one of leaving England to fight unaided the battle for open markets, and then come in and enjoy the fruits of her valor under the "most favored nation clause." A mere statement of the recent changes in China and the dangers that still threaten our treaty rights will make clear our true policy.

Russia has gained more than any other power, for Manchuria has become a Russian province in all but name. The subtle, patient, bold diplomacy of Russia has achieved a notable victory.

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Russia has long known exactly what she wanted in the Far East, and she has pursued her aim with admirable steadiness of purpose. There has been none of the weak vacillation of a "government by discussion." Indeed, the peaceful acquisition of Manchuria must be accounted the most brilliant diplomatic triumph of the century. A territory exceeding in area England and France combined has been won without firing a gun or losing a single life, and without the payment of any consideration whatever. True, the nominal sovereignty of China is retained to "save the face" of the Chinese government, but the substance of sovereignty has passed irrevocably to the Muscovite. He can wait with a light heart and characteristic patience for the coming of an opportune moment to assume absolute dominion.

This last move of Russia should be considered in the light of a little history. The territory of the Amur was an unknown land to the Russians until about the middle of the seventeenth century. The first Russian expedition into that region was under the leadership of an adventurer named Poyarkoff, who, in 1636, sailed down the river from Irkutsk to its mouth. As early as 1682 the Russians had a settlement on the Amur at Albasin. By the treaty of Nerchinsk, signed in 1689 and confirmed in 1728, the Russians were forced to evacuate all their settlements on the Amur and acknowledge the sovereignty of China over the basin of that river. The dominion of China remained unquestioned until toward the middle of the present century, when the Russian Government desired to send supplies to its settlements in Kamchatka by way of the Amur. In 1847, General Muravieff, who was in command of Western Siberia, sent an officer to explore the river. Several surveys were made, and in 1851, Nikolaievsk and Mariinsk were founded near the mouth of the Amur by the commanding officer of a Russian man-of-war as posts of the recently formed Russo-American Trading Company. In 1853 Alexandrovsk and Konstantinovsk were founded on the coast. All these settlements were within territory admitted by Russia in the treaty of Nerchinsk to belong to China. In 1854, General Muravieff asked permission of the local Chinese authorities to send supplies to the Russia settlements on the Pacific down the Amur. His very reasonable request was denied. As the Crimean War was then raging, the Amur afforded the only available route. It was a case of necessity. Accordingly, General Muravieff pro-

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ceeded down the river with a large convoy of barges and a thousand men. Again in 1855 expeditions were sent down the river with military stores and provisions and many colonists. Russian stations were established at several points along the north shore of the river against the feeble protests of the local mandarins. Owing to the Taiping rebellion, the government at Peking was unable to oppose by force this Russian occupation. The weakness of China was an invitation to the bold diplomacy of Russia. By means that have never been made public, she succeeded in 1858 in extorting from China the astonishing treaty of Aigun, by which the whole of the left bank of the Amur was ceded unconditionally and without compensation to Russia. This forced gift of China was organized into Primorsk province. Brilliant and unaccountable as this diplomatic achievement was, it was soon followed by one still more brilliant and unaccountable. In 1860, when the Taipings were masters of the greater part of China, and France and England were at the gates of Peking, Russia forced China to cede to her all of Eastern Manchuria as far south as Korea. China received no compensation whatever for thus ceding an immense territory and cutting herself off from the Pacific. The secret means by which Russia secured this extraordinary grant still remain secret.

No further move was made by Russia until 1895, when, at the close of the war between China and Japan, the latter demanded, as a condition of peace, the Liao-tung peninsula. This position would have given Japan control of all Manchuria and kept Russia beyond the Amur. It was intolerable that Russia should build a railroad across the continent and thus be cut off from an ice-free terminus on the Pacific. Supported by Germany and France, Russia compelled Japan to withdraw the demand, and in this action she was clearly justified. Manchuria was thus saved to China, but it was perfectly well understood at the time that Russia was to be granted a right to build her railroad across the country and find an ice-free post at Talien-wan.

In 1896, Russia was formally conceded the right to extend her Trans-Siberia Railroad across Manchuria. Under this concession the road will probably begin at the Onon station of the Trans-Baikal Railroad and cross the Chinese frontier near the town of Staro-Zurukhait, running in Manchuria southeasterly through Tsitsihar, Petuna and Ninguta, and connecting with the

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South Ussuri Railroad at Nikolks, to which point trains are now running from Vladivostok. In March of the present year Russia secured the further right to connect this line with a road running from Port Arthur and Talien-wan northward through Moukden and Kirin to Petuna. It is believed, upon evidence that is well nigh conclusive, that Russia has already secured, by secret convention, the right to police the territory through which these railroads will pass. This is to be done ostensibly to "protect" the railroads, but, of course, it will eventuate in the military government of the country. It is also believed that she has secured the right to develop the mines of Manchuria and "reform" the military system.

Finally, the control of Manchuria by Russia was unequivocally and irrevocably fixed by a convention signed at Peking last March. The following notice of this convention was given to the powers by Russia through her foreign ministers:

"By virtue of a convention signed at Peking on March 27, Port Arthur and the port of Talien-wan, and the territories adjacent, have been ceded to Russia in usufruct by China. You are requested to notify the foregoing government whereto you are accredited, adding that the above-mentioned ports and territories will be immediately occupied by Russian troops, and that the Russian flag will be hoisted by the side of the Chinese flag. You may at the same time inform the foreign minister that the port of Talien-wan will be open to foreign trade, and that the largest measure of hospitality will be extended to the ships of all friendly nations."

An official communication issued to the press adds:

"The concessions are for twenty-five years, but may be extended later by common accord. Further, China has conceded the right of constructing a railroad to connect the ports with the Trans-Siberian main line."

Manchuria has an estimated population of 23,000,000. It is the land of the Manchus, who, in 1644, conquered China and established the present dynasty. Its native population has been very largely withdrawn to garrison the cities of China. On the other hand, Manchuria has been overrun by Chinese from Northern China. So extensive has been this migration to and from China that Manchuria has become in race, language and customs an integral part of the Chinese Empire. The climate is very similar to that of Minnesota and Manitoba. The winters are extremely cold, with abundant fall of snow, but the sky is clear and the atmosphere dry and bracing, so that much outdoor activity is possible. The summers are short, but long and warm enough to ripen the finest cereal crops of China. Magnificent crops of

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maize, wheat, barley, hemp, rice and millet are raised in Southern and Central Manchuria by the Chinese, who are the most industrious agriculturists of the world. Fine as these cereal crops are, beans are a still more important crop. They are grown in enormous quantities for their oil, which is used extensively by the Chinese for illuminating and cooking purposes. After the oil is extracted the beans are pressed into huge cakes, which are shipped from Newschwang to the southern ports of China, and there used as a fertilizer for sugar cane. Beans are also ground into a pulp and converted into a white jelly-like substance, which is called bean curd and highly relished by the Chinese. Cotton, tobacco and indigo are extensively cultivated. Cattle, sheep and hogs are to be seen everywhere in the farming districts of Manchuria, and mules, donkeys and ponies are so abundant as to be within the reach of all. Nowhere in China are the conditions for farming so favorable. The northern and western portions of Manchuria are mountainous or hilly, and the sparse population is for the most part non-Chinese and markedly inferior. It was not until 1820 that Chinese were allowed in the northern provinces, but recently they have fairly overrun the more desirable portions.

Manchuria possesses an immense source of wealth in her extensive forests of pine, oak and elm. Fortunately, these forests are so situated that logs may be easily floated down to the sea on the great rivers of the country. China proper now looks almost wholly to Manchuria for her lumber. At the mouth of the Yalu as many as 40,000 raftsmen are said to congregate in summer. Gold, silver, iron and coal are found in abundance, but the Chinese government has hitherto forbidden the development of the mines. Take it all in all, no part of China is more richly endowed by nature, and under the wise guidance of Russia, Manchuria is destined in the near future to astonish the world by her development. At present, the great drawbacks are bad government, bad roads, bad currency, brigandage and want of a proper mail service. We may be sure that Russia will speedily remedy all these defects. Brigandage, which now terrorizes large portions of the country, will be put down with a ruthless hand. Railroads will be pushed with all possible speed. Preliminary surveys have already been made, and large orders have been placed in the United States for steel rails and locomotives. The chief western import is cotton goods, and it is pleasant to add that they

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are principally of American manufacture. Our commercial interests in Manchuria are larger than those of any other western nation, and capable of very great enlargement. It, therefore, behooves our government to be especially active in preserving the "open door" in that country. Our rights at Talien-wan have not yet been defined by Russia, but so long as the neighboring port of Newschang remains a Chinese treaty port, discriminating duties are not likely to be imposed at Talien-wan. We should join with England in demanding written assurances from China that, in any future concessions that may be granted in Manchuria, our present trading privileges shall be properly safeguarded. If we can receive unequivocal assurances of equality of opportunity with Russia in the Manchurian markets, we shall view her occupancy with unqualified approval. Even though an illiberal policy should be pursued at Talien-wan, the benefit accruing to us from the Russian control would far outweigh the evils. Certainly we have no share in the hysterical Russophobism just now so common in England. So long as Russia is kept beyond the Great Wall, her expansion in the Far East is viewed with favor rather than alarm by Americans. She is doing a highly important civilizing work in the outlying regions north and west of China, which no other European power would be permitted to do or could do so well.

Very different are the concessions recently secured from China by England. They involve no possible danger to our interests, and are certain to result in a greatly enlarged demand for American goods.

(1.) The valley of the Yangtse shall not be mortgaged, leased or ceded to any foreign power.

This is the richest and most populous portion of China. From this region come the tea and silk, which constitute the staple exports from China, and here American merchants find the chief market for our cotton goods and kerosene oil. Of course, the promise of China is utterly valueless in her present state of weakness, but it is incalculably important as showing the firm determination of England to keep open this immensely rich market. Whatever may befall in China, Americans are thus guaranteed free access to the Yangtse valley.

(2.) The inland waters of China shall be thrown open to the vessels of all nations.

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This is far and away the most important commercial concession yet obtained from China since the opening of the country, and, if carried out in good faith, will revolutionize trade conditions. The chief obstacle to foreign trade has always been the local taxes, called *likin*. The Chinese people have been eager to purchase foreign goods, but the likin taxes, imposed between the port of entry and the home of the consumer, have raised the price of the goods beyond the means of the people. By treaty we have long had the right to pay 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* at the port of entry, in commutation of the likin taxes. Transit passes have been issued, which were evidence of the payment of this tax, and were designed to secure the free passage of the goods covered through the likin stations. In practice the unscrupulous cunning of the mandarins has rendered these passes well nigh valueless. Under the present concession we shall be able to evade the mandarins by carrying our goods directly to the consumer under our own flag. China is a perfect network of waterways, and by the use of light draft steamers and launches we shall greatly increase the area of our markets. It is one thing to secure a right in China from the Peking Government. It is quite another to secure its recognition by the local officials. Much diplomatic pressure will have to be exerted at Peking before we shall enjoy this right to the full. Our Government should unreservedly co-operate with England in any action that may prove necessary to make this right practically useful.

(3.) In connection with the Anglo-German loan of £16,000,000 China has agreed that the likin taxes in the provinces of Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Chekiang and Nyanhwei, which are pledged as part security for the loan, shall be collected by the foreign custom service under Sir Robert Hart.

From what has been said concerning these taxes, it is apparent that this change will prove highly advantageous to foreign trade.

(4.) China has promised that the successor of Sir Robert Hart as Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs shall be an Englishman, and that an Englishman shall hold this post so long as English trade predominates.

This is a position of very great power, and, in the capable hands of Sir Robert Hart, has done much to maintain English prestige in China. As England is the only power in China standing unequivocally for open markets, anything which enhances her influ-

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ence at Peking works for American interests and should receive our hearty approval.

(5.) Funing, on the inlet of Sam Sa; Chinwang Peitaho, on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and Yo-chau, on the Tung-ting Lake, are opened to foreign trade.

(6.) Wei-hai-wei is leased to England on the same terms on which Port Arthur is leased to Russia.

Speaking of this lease as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour said: "We offered, if they (Russia) would abstain from taking Port Arthur, to ourselves give a corresponding pledge to take no port on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. But our offer was not accepted, and Great Britain has since obtained a lease of Wei-hai-wei on the same terms as those by which Russia secured Port Arthur. Wei-hai-wei is the only port on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li which might balance the possession of Port Arthur. While Port Arthur is stronger, the accommodation at Wei-hai-wei is inestimably greater, and by taking Wei-hai-wei under our protection we prevent the Gulf of Pe-chi-li from falling under the maritime control of one power, and thus defend our interests."

Opinion in England is very much divided as to the wisdom of this move, but Americans are undivided in the opinion that a strong British fortress at Wei-hai-wei between the Russians at Port Arthur and the Germans at Kiao-Chou will render American interests in North China more secure. The stronger England becomes in China the less likely are Russia, Germany and France to impose discriminating duties within their concessions.

(7.) A company of English capitalists has just received a sixty-year concession of the coal and iron fields in the Province of Shansi.

The value of this concession may be imagined when it is recalled that Baron Von Richtofen estimated that the anthracite alone of these fields would supply the world for 2,000 years. A railroad is already under construction through this region. This concession being secured against the strenuous opposition of Russia and France is a brilliant triumph for English diplomacy. The predominance of England in North China seems now assured and the threatened ascendancy of Russia in that region happily averted. It is a decisive victory for the policy of the "open door," in which we may well rejoice.

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(8.) In 1897 England secured the opening of the West River to foreign trade as far as Wuchow, which was at the same time made a treaty port.

This is a concession that the foreign merchants at Canton and Hongkong have long sought. The West River is the natural channel for the foreign trade of Southeastern China. Hitherto this trade has been unnaturally restricted by the obstruction of the local officials. Already American kerosene oil is finding largely increased sale as a result of the opening of the river.

Last year Germany secured the following concessions. We quote the language of M. Von Brand, the then German Minister to China :

"China rents to Germany for ninety-nine years the two promontories forming the entrance to the Bay of Kiao-Chou, and the water area of the bay up to high-water mark, with the islands in it; agreeing, at the same time, that nothing shall be done by the Chinese authorities within a radius of thirty-one English miles round the bay without the previous consent of the German authorities. China agrees further to give to a Chino-German railway company, to be formed, a concession for the construction of a railway from the Bay of Kiao-Chou to Tsinan-Fu, passing through Ichau-fu, and returning to the point of departure. It also grants to Germany the privilege of operating the coal mines at Weihsien, Joshansien and Ichau-fu, and promises furthur that in the event of works being undertaken in Shantung with the help of foreigners, German industry and commerce shall be first called into requisition."

These concessions do not seriously menace American interests. On the contrary, in so far as they open up hitherto inaccessible territory, they are distinctly advantageous. They will create new markets for American cotton goods and kerosene oil, a trade in which Germany and the United States are not competitors. Germany has given the world assurances that she will pursue an open policy at Kiao-Chou. Her interests in China are so manifestly on the side of the "open door" that we need have no great fear of discriminating duties. The powers in China are divided into two opposing parties. The United States, England and Germany desire the integrity of China, to the end that trade may be open to all on terms of entire equality. On the other hand, Russia and France, whose trade with China is comparatively insignificant and seemingly incapable of large increase, are actuated by a desire for territorial aggrandizement and exclusive privileges. Wherever the French flag flies in China, we may expect the same illiberal commercial policy that has blighted Tongking, Anam and Cochin

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China. At present Kiao-Chou is commercially insignificant, and it will remain so until a railroad is constructed to Tsinan-fu.

Passing to the south we find France endeavoring, from her basis in Tongking and Kwang-chau-wan, to capture the trade of Kwangsi and Yunnan. Foreign trade in these provinces is as yet comparatively insignificant, but it is thought to be capable of enormous enlargement, especially in the rich Province of Yunnan. Just what direction this future trade will take is one of the interesting commercial problems of China. This region may be reached from Shanghai by way of the Yangtse; from Canton by way of the West River; from Tongking by way of the Red River and the proposed French railroad, and from Burmah by an extension of the English railroad. With a view of controlling this trade, France has secured the following concessions:

(1.) A lease of Kwang-chau-wan on the Leichau peninsula, in the Province of Kwangtung.

The harbor is a fine one, twenty miles long and land locked, with two entrances. The wide part of the harbor is about ten miles long from east to west and six or seven miles wide from north to south, with a depth and holding ground that will afford an open and safe anchorage for vessels of the largest draft. By this lease France secured the natural outlet for the trade of the Province of Kwangsi and an invaluable base for operations in Kwangsi, Kwangtung and Hainan.

(2.) The concession of a railroad connecting Tongking with Yunnan-fu by the Red River.

(3.) A promise by China not to alienate her territory bordering on Tongking.

(4.) A promise by China not to cede the island of Hainan to any other power.

(5.) In June, 1896, a French company secured the right to build a railroad from the frontier of Tongking to Lungchau, in Kwangsi, and in June, 1897, an extension of this road was authorized.

(6.) In June, 1895, France secured the right to trade at Lungchau in Kwangsi and at Mengtzu in Yunnan. Already a large trade has been built up at Mengtzu.

By these concessions France is given an immense advantage in the race for the markets of Southern China, but there is nothing in the commercial history of France in the Far East to justify the

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belief that she can maintain the advantage against the English, who will reach these markets from Canton and Burmah.

The various concessions that have been enumerated are sure to make the present year the beginning of a new era for China. The country is at last fully open to foreign trade and presents to our merchants an unparalleled opportunity. Fortunately we are already in the field. Ever since the opening of China, our merchants have enjoyed a large share of the foreign trade, and to-day, at Shanghai, we have houses possessed of large capital and officered by able men of long experience in China, who are keenly alive to every opportunity for the extension of American trade. The men who have doubled American imports into China since 1893 are not likely to lag behind in the race for the new markets recently opened.

Our staple exports to China are cotton goods and kerosene oil. American clocks and watches have a large sale. Recently there has been a growing demand for our wheat flour. The railroad concessions recently secured will create a large demand for American locomotives and steel rails. Baldwin engines are used on the Tientsin-Peking Railroad, and the lead thus secured is not likely to be lost.

The total value of our exports to China last year was about $20,000,000. The official statistics do not include the full value of the trade, for the reason that many goods find their way to China *via* England. The following statistics from the Statistical Abstract, 1898, show the declared value of our exports and the wonderful growth of the trade in recent years:

	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
American exports to Chinese ports..	$3,900,457	$5,862,426	$3,603,840	$6,921,933	$11,924,433
To Hong Kong.....	4,216,602	4,209,847	4,253,040	4,691,201	6,060,039
	$8,117,059	$10,072,273	$7,856,880	$11,613,134	$17,984,472

The following table shows the growth in the leading articles of export:

	1893.	1897.
Flour:		
Chinese Ports.....	$66,699	$72,100
Hong Kong.....	2,059,576	3,322,241
	$2,126,275	$3,394,341

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	1893.	1897.
Cotton Goods:		
Chinese Ports	$1,638,657	$7,438,203
Hong Kong	14,062	17,492
	$1,652,719	$7,455,695
Kerosene Oil:		
Chinese Ports	$1,809,437	$3,371,937
Hong Kong	842,313	1,157,050
	$2,651,750	$4,528,987

Under these conditions, what should be the policy of the United States? We have no desire to appropriate a single foot of Chinese territory, and as a government we are entirely indifferent to the balance of power in the Far East, except as it may affect our trade. The political considerations that enter into the relations of England and Russia in the north of China, and England and France to the south, do not concern us. Anything like a general alliance between this country and England in the Far East should be studiously avoided. While we sympathize with China and feel that in the interest of civilization her independence should be respected and maintained, under no circumstances that can be now foreseen would we fight to prevent a partition that did not involve the destruction of our present treaty rights. So long as entire equality of trading privileges is secured, the scramble of the powers in China for concessions will receive no active opposition from the United States. We are concerned with the integrity of Chinese trade, and not the integrity of Chinese territory. In this regard our interests and those of England differ. Otherwise they are identical and we can readily secure her co-operation in the furtherance of our policy. The sticking point with us is the preservation of our present treaty right of admission to the Chinese market upon terms of entire equality with every other nation. To this end our Government should join England in insisting, even to the point of war, upon an express stipulation in future grants of territory by China that our goods shall be admitted into the territory granted upon the same terms as the goods of the nation receiving the grant. We should also join England in employing every diplomatic means, short of a threat of war, to prevent the partition of China, because that event would be disastrous to American trade, although open markets were guaranteed. It is highly discreditable to American and English diplomacy that Talien-wan, Kiao-Chou and Kwang-chau-wan, the natural outlets of the rich provinces of Manchuria, Shantung and

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Kwangsi, have been alienated by China without our interests being properly safeguarded. It would never have happened if the two governments had been acting together at Peking. In short, our policy in China should be, concert of action with England so far as our interests are identical, opposition to the partition of China by every means short of war, and opposition to partition or territorial grants even to the extremity of war if the preservation of our present treaty rights of trade cannot be guaranteed.

It has been urged that we are estopped from fighting for open markets in China because of our protective tariff at home. Nothing could well be more absurd. It is not a question of fighting for new rights, but for the preservation of rights we already possess. At present we have a treaty right of admission to all the markets of China through the "open ports" upon the payment of a nominal duty. Certain powers of Europe threaten this right by securing territorial concessions from China without insuring us against discriminating duties within the territory granted. It is not a question of China giving away her own. These concessions are forced from her. It is simply a question whether we shall weakly allow ourselves to be pushed out of valuable markets to which we have a possessory right.

The advantages of co-operating with England to the extent here advocated are obvious. No power or combination of powers would for a moment think of opposing the joint demand of England and the United States for open markets in China. The demand would be too reasonable and the combined strength too overwhelming. The powerful fleet of Japan would eagerly join those of England and the United States to sustain such a policy.

The only serious obstacles to this course of action lie in the historical enmity between this country and England and our traditional policy of avoiding alliances. Happily, recent events have done much to remove both these obstacles.

That there is much in the past relations of the two governments that makes co-operation difficult is too true, but in the noble language of Lowell, "these things should be remembered, not with resentment, but for enlightenment." Community of interests is fast overcoming every repulsion, and the feeling of the more open-minded and far-seeing men of both countries was eloquently expressed recently at the Mansion House by our Ambassador;

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"The good understanding between us is based on something deeper than mere expediency. All who think cannot but see there is a sanction like that of religion which binds us in partnership in the serious work of the world. Whether we will or not, we are associated in that work by the very nature of things, and no man and no group of men can prevent it. We are bound by ties we did not forge and that we cannot break. We are joint ministers in the same sacred mission of freedom and progress, charged with duties we cannot evade by the imposition of irresistible hands."

The universal sympathy of Englishmen for us in our attempt to pacify Cuba and give the island the benefit of a liberal and just government is evidence that there is a patriotism of race as well as of country. In the presence of this sympathy, we forget our old animosities. England alone of European powers has fully recognized the distinterestedness of our motives. By peremptorily refusing even to consider an invitation from the Continental powers to intervene in the war she has placed us under a heavy debt of gratitude and rendered it altogether impossible for us to remember past grievances. The war has repaid its cost by disclosing to the world the solidarity of English-speaking peoples.

Recent events have also done much to remove the other obstacle to effective action in China. Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines are teaching us that a policy of isolation is no longer possible. Changed conditions are forcing us unwillingly into a departure from our traditional policy of avoiding contact with the world at large. We are confronted by the unpleasant alternative of giving up cherished ideals or ignominiously shirking the duties of great power. Again and again our Government has failed to protect American interests with vigor and effect because of its irrational unwillingness to act in concert with other powers. We have pursued a weak and ineffectual policy of isolation when the conditions were such that co-operation with other powers was essential to the proper protection of our own interests. The policy of isolation has been rendered sacrosanct by the great name of Washington. Like all devotees of superstition we have clung to the words of the Farewell Address and ignored the spirit of the text. Washington spoke with reference to conditions then existing, and we do his memory a grave injustice in attributing to him an intention of recommending a permanent and inflexible policy

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of isolation. He never allowed himself to be hampered by an unyielding policy. He did not think in formulæ. He had a strong affinity for facts and saw conditions as they were. His success in the field was largely due to the bewildering rapidity with which he changed his plans to conform to changed conditions. We should remember that he did not disdain the French alliance during the war. The Farewell Address does not warn us against all alliances, but only such as would not directly and materially promote our interests. Washington counselled a policy of isolation during the period of the nation's infancy and weakness. He had suffered throughout his administration from the provincialism of the masses and their proneness to take sides in the controversies of Europe. He therefore wisely counselled a policy of isolation. By failing to consider his words in the light of the conditions that provoked them, we have strangely misunderstood and misapplied this counsel. A temporary policy of isolation that was designed to protect the weakness of the infant republic has been irrationally converted into a permanent policy which thwarts and hampers us in our days of lusty manhood. One hundred years ago we occupied a narrow fringe of land along the Atlantic seaboard. Our white population was but three millions. We had no possession on the Pacific coast and the Mississippi Valley had not yet been acquired. We were living under a newly formed federal government which was a distasteful compromise, and had not yet won the undivided loyalty of the people. Our form of government was confessedly an experiment. In Europe absolutism held universal sway, save in France, where events were doing much to discredit democracy. We had not a friend in Europe whom we could trust, and our isolation was our safety. Fortunately, we were then farther removed from Europe than we now are from China. The wisdom of avoiding entangling alliances involving war, at that period of our extreme weakness, is so obvious that we can but marvel that it should have required all the strength of Washington's administration to keep the people from joining France in the war against England. A timid shrinking from contact with the world which was wise in those days of our infancy, when we were the weakest of nations, is grotesquely absurd now that we have become the strongest. Should we protect or extend American interests in any part of the world by temporary co-operation with a European power? It is thought a

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sufficient condemnation of such a policy to repeat the hackneyed phrase against "entangling alliances." And thus the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er by a phrase. In consequence we allow American property in Turkey to be destroyed with impunity and leave England to fight unaided for the preservation of our treaty rights in China. In consequence our whole foreign policy has been enervated and in particular our attitude toward Hawaii and Cuba has been weakly hesitant. This hallowed policy of isolation has had the natural result of producing provincial habits of thought among our public men, that make it difficult for them to consider our foreign policy along broad lines of national destiny. The Cuban war will prove the beginning of the end of the absurd attempt to guide the conduct of our years of maturity by the little prudential maxims of our infancy.

Our commercial necessities are also fast bringing home to the American people the inadequacy of their traditional foreign policy. We have been so long intent on discouraging imports that we have thought little of encouraging exports, but now that we have captured our own markets we are eager to invade the markets of the world. Indeed, the invasion has already begun. In 1894, the value of domestic manufactures exported from the United States was $177,801,000, while in 1897 the value was $279,617,000, an increase of about 57 per cent. American tools and machinery are the standard of the world. Our sewing machines, bicycles and typewriters lead in every market, and our locomotive engines are whistling at the gates of Peking. We are selling steel rails in London, India and Manchuria. The industrial capacity of the American people has outgrown the demands of the home market, and our merchants are in consequence making an energetic push into the markets of the world. It is certain they are accomplishing wonders unaided by government, but it is equally certain that our foreign trade would increase even more rapidly if our Government was as keenly active and resolutely bold in opening up new markets and furthering the efforts of our merchants as are the governments of Europe. We have long recognized the fact that the prosperity of the Western and Southern farmer depends largely upon the foreign markets. We are just beginning to realize that the prosperity of the Eastern artisan is equally dependent upon them. This revolution in industrial conditions demands a revolution in our foreign policy. The more

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far-sighted of our statesmen are awakening to the necessity of finding foreign outlets for the overflowing industrial energy of the American people. Unless our eyes turn outward in search of foreign markets, they will soon turn inward upon discontent and dangerous political unrest among our industrial classes. This condition will force our Government to abandon its policy of indifference and adopt a policy of active intervention in foreign affairs, not for the purpose of territorial acquisition, but in the interest of open markets. Along these lines the two great branches of the English race seem destined to act in concert, with incalculable benefit to themselves and the world at large. Whatever disposition may be made of the Philippine Islands, it would be highly discreditable to American statesmanship if we failed to provide that they should forever remain open to our trade, free of all duties.

For many it has long seemed our ideal destiny to live apart, in complacent self-sufficiency, a recluse among the nations. Happily such an ideal is as impossible as it is ignoble and retrograde. Impelled by irresistible forces we are already beginning to look outward, and are preparing to take the high place among the nations to which our strength entitles us. We should be unworthy members of the stout-hearted race to which we belong if we were daunted by the burdens and dangers of the wider activities upon which we are entering.

MARK B. DUNNELL.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

THE problems confronting those interested in the welfare and advancement of our American cities are both numerous and extensive. They involve questions of the election of competent officials, and the selection of trained subordinates; of the enactment of new laws, and the enforcement of those already on the statute book; of the maintenance of law and order, and the suppression of vice; of policy, the determination of whether a city shall own and operate its franchises, or lease them to a private corporation or give them away absolutely to private parties; of municipal functions; of cleanliness, health and sanitation; of municipal standards, of municipal taste, and finally, of civic patriotism.

I place the problem of the election of competent officials and the selection of trained subordinates first, as it is one of fundamental and far-reaching importance. Indeed, it lies at the basis of all good government. Good laws are important; good men to execute them are essential. The most striking illustration of this proposition is to be found in the management of the New York Police Department under the Tammany *régime* and under Theodore Roosevelt's. Until late in the latter's term there was no change in the laws relating to the New York police system; indeed, few radical changes were made at any time; but there was, nevertheless, a most marked difference in the results. Under Tammany, vice flourished with the protection of the department; law breakers were in close touch with the police and were unmolested so long as they maintained a satisfactory understanding with those whose duty it was to detect and punish crime; laws were enforced against those who bowed not to Tammany or refused to contribute to its treasury; while those who did basked in a profitable immu-

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nity. When Roosevelt and his brave and honest colleagues took charge, all this disappeared and an impartial enforcement of the law against all offenders, high or low, rich or poor, followed. Crime diminished, vice hid its head, and old-time offenders forsook their haunts and sought newer and less dangerous fields of activity. In the one case, the department promoted and protected vice. In the other, it lent every effort to its prosecution and extermination.

Mayor Pingree's administration is another notable illustration of the principle just enunciated. I do not recall that the laws of Michigan enlarged the powers of the public-spirited and courageous Mayor of Detroit; but I do know he executed the laws he found on the statute books in a spirit of fairness and impartiality, without fear or favor, and in the interest of the community at large, rather than of selfish individuals or corporations. I think that the great majority of the citizens of Detroit will agree in testifying that their city has benefited morally, physically and financially because they had for Mayor a man who placed the city's interest foremost, and constantly and conscientiously worked to advance its welfare.

Municipal reformers now quite generally believe that the municipal problem is in a large part one of men. We must get the right men in the right place, and then keep them there. So we are not surprised when we find an increasing number of reform organizations devoting their energies mainly to the election of the right sort of officials. It is significant of the growing public opinion on this point that, within the past eighteen months in three different cities, unusually large votes have been cast for strictly municipal candidates. In Chicago, in April, 1897, nearly 80,000 votes were polled for John Marshall Harlan for Mayor; in November last, 151,000 were cast for Seth Low for Mayor of Greater New York; and in February last nearly 58,000 votes were cast for William Henry Rhawn for Tax Receiver of Philadelphia. Neither Mr. Harlan, Mr. Low nor Mr. Rhawn was supported either by the Republican or Democratic machines. Mr. Harlan had behind him a Citizens' party; Mr. Low was supported by the Citizens' Union; and Mr. Rhawn was nominated by the Municipal League, and subsequently by the Citizens' party, organized during the campaign.

The extraordinarily large vote in each of these cases indi-

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cates that the voters are learning to place the candidate and his fitness for the office above partisan considerations. In Chicago the Harlan vote exceeded the Republican vote; so did the Low vote in New York, and in Philadelphia it exceeded the Democratic. In each instance the Independents became the vigorous minority, supplanting the old national minority party.

Reform organizations with scarcely an exception insist that municipal affairs must be divorced from State and national politics, and considered solely from a municipal standpoint. Every year instances multiply, showing the growth of this doctrine, although the three we have just mentioned are the most conspicuous illustrations; others, however, will recur at once to those who have followed the trend of municipal development during the past few years.

The selection of trained subordinates upon approved civil service reform principles is quite as generally insisted upon by reform bodies as the one to which we have just alluded. Civil service reform is a *sine qua non* of municipal reform. While the latter involves more than the former, to be successful it must include all of it. This has been universally recognized, and I do not recall a single organization dealing with the political side of municipal reform which does not strenuously insist upon it. It is a corner stone of the New York Citizens' Union and the Philadelphia Municipal League. The Civic Federation of Chicago is mainly responsible (in co-operation with the local Civil Service Reform Association) for the Illinois law. The Baltimore Reform League has always been a persistent advocate of the policy, and the St. Louis Civic Federation has just concluded a most active and aggressive campaign in behalf of the adoption of a civil service reform amendment to the city's charter. The Citizens' League of New Orleans secured civil service reform as one of the first fruits of its magnificent victories. The National Municipal League has always stood for the principle, and has worked in closest harmony and co-operation with the National Civil Service Reform Association; and it has never failed to make it a prominent topic for discussion at its conferences.

It is hardly necessary at this late day and in this connection to discuss the reasons why this is so. Intelligent people generally have accepted these principles; officials who have been protected by their operation from the onslaught of the spoilsmen, endorse

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them; experience has demonstrated their practicability. They will be engrafted upon our statute laws and constitutions and adopted in our municipalities, when the inertia of the average citizen is overcome. The main difficulty is not in the acceptance of the principles, but in applying them. The attacks of the machine are less dangerous than the indifference of apathetic friends.

Next in importance to the election of competent officials and the selection of trained subordinates, we must place the enactment of new laws. The greater proportion of American municipal charters are at best an ill assorted and inconsistent mass (perhaps I would be justified in saying mess) of laws, lacking in logical order and clear legislative intent. While there are some notable exceptions, until quite lately municipal legislation in America has been in a most backward state. There has been no clear-cut conception of municipal functions; nor has there been any attempt to formulate a charter based upon American experience and political traditions. Recently, efforts have been inaugurated in some of the larger cities, which have met with more or less success, to secure the enactment of new charters. In New Orleans, the Citizens' League made the question of a new charter an election issue and won. Then it proceeded to draft a modern charter and urged it upon the Legislature, and in this it was successful. The Merchants' Association of San Francisco has been working for a new charter in place of the present antiquated scheme of government of that city, which, while it may be admirably adapted to subserve the interests of the Southern Pacific Railroad, prevents the citizens from effecting any substantial reforms. The association's first proposed charter was defeated at the polls; its second attempt succeeded. In Minneapolis, as well as in Duluth and several other of the larger Minnesota cities, new charters will be shortly submitted for popular approval. In Ohio, thanks to the long-continued and carefully planned labors of the State Board of Commerce, a bill was passed by the Legislature providing for a Commission to codify the laws relating to the cities, as a preliminary step to the enactment of a more logical and wiser scheme of municipal government. In other cities and States similar movements have been instituted, and I think I am justified in saying that there is a general dissatisfaction with present forms, and an equally general desire for improvement.

The National Municipal League, at its Louisville meeting in

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1897, authorized the appointment of a Committee of Ten to report on the feasibility of adopting a Municipal Programme. This committee, in pursuance of the objects of its appointment, has given careful study to the whole municipal problem in America, and will report as a result of its labors a constitutional amendment and a municipal corporation act, which will embody a scheme of government adapted to American municipalities. The scope and contents of the committee's report will not be disclosed until the next meeting of the league, which it is expected will be held in Indianapolis in the autumn, but it is quite generally understood that it will be in some respects the most important contribution to the study of municipal government thus far made.

There is scarcely any substantial difference of opinion as to the necessity of enforcing those laws already on the statute books. If they are wise and intended to correct existing evils, they should be enforced to secure the advantages originally intended; if they are antiquated, honest enforcement will quickly lead to a repeal. There should be no unenforced laws on our books. Every such law detracts from the effectiveness of other laws. If the provisions of one law can be evaded with impunity, the question is very soon propounded, why cannot we evade other laws with equal impunity? If the executive is allowed any discretion as to which laws he shall enforce, the door is opened at once to favoritism and corruption. This was the case in New York City under Tammany, and will be the case wherever such a policy is tolerated. Experience has time and again demonstrated the soundness and wisdom of the doctrine that the quicker way to secure repeal of an unpopular or obsolete law is to enforce it strictly.

Some very effective reform work has been done by associations which have stood for the enforcement of the law. In most large cities there are law and order societies, making a specialty of the enforcement of the laws relating to excise and the social evil. Other organizations, like the Citizens' Associations of Boston, Albany, Philadelphia and Chicago, confine their efforts to the laws and ordinances relating to city business. Each one of these and they are only types of many more scattered over the country, has saved thousands of dollars to taxpayers, promoted municipal order and cleanliness and a stricter compliance with contract specification and wholesome municipal regulations. The Philadelphia body, through its insistence upon the enforcement of the law re-

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quiring street railways to pay for the paving of the streets occupied by their tracks, secured the collection of over $400,000 from the companies and established a precedent which has since been faithfully followed.

The Citizens' Association of Albany completely revolutionized the methods of administration; and the most recent success of the Chicago Association (perhaps the most important of its career) was the complete and final establishment and vindication of the Illinois civil service law, by the highest tribunals.

Working hand in hand with what has come to be designated quite generally as law and order work, we find quite frequently organizations like that of which Dr. Parkhurst was president when he made his sensational and startling exposures concerning Tammany's complicity with vice and crime. The question of the policy to be pursued by cities in regard to the social evil is in some respects the most difficult and most delicate confronting those charged with the execution of the laws; but just so soon as an official is permitted to punish one offender and allow another to go free, just so soon such a course as disgraced New York under Tammany rule is made possible.

What we may call, for want of a better designation, policy determining organizations, are growing in number. In this class may be placed municipal ownership leagues, park and playground associations, public education and improvement societies. In Boston a municipal ownership committee is laboring to create a sentiment in favor of a policy which will lead to Boston's becoming the owner of her street railways. Similar organizations in New York and Buffalo and several Western cities are working to the same end. While there is a general recognition on the part of all reform bodies that there must be a change in the policy of dealing with municipal franchises, but few as yet have gone to the extent of those just mentioned. The opinion is general that the average American city has been most profligate in its management of these matters, and that the cities have suffered by improvidence and corruption. Reform sentiment seems to be divided, however, between the policy of leases for short periods with provision for adequate compensation, and that of municipal ownership and private operation. Few organizations have gone so far as to insist upon both municipal ownership and operation.

The movement for small parks and public playgrounds grows

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apace. In New York and Philadelphia it has made rapid and substantial strides; Chicago is not far behind; indeed Western cities generally have shown wise foresight in providing for ample breathing spaces, and means for recreation. In some cities the demand for parks and playgrounds has been incorporated in the platforms of political parties, notably in that of the Citizens' Union of Greater New York. In Philadelphia the City Parks Association has so far succeeded in moulding public policy that not only has the area of squares and small parks in the more densely populated section been greatly enlarged, but a long look ahead has been taken, and ample provision made for future needs. I think we can say that this phase of the movement has succeeded to an unexpected degree, and it does not seem to be any longer a question of policy, but rather one of means and ability.

City improvement societies in many places discharge the function of parks and playground associations, going further, however, in attempting to beautify our cities by means of landscape gardening and artistic treatment and decoration of public buildings. In this work the women of our cities have found a congenial field for their talents, and have aided materially in developing a more elevated and refined municipal taste. They have found an equally congenial field in the direction of improving and protecting the health and sanitation of cities. Women's health protective associations and sanitary leagues have contributed materially to the alleviation of evils threatening the health of our urban communities. They have devoted their energies to such practical and important matters as the filtration of the water supply; the disposal of garbage and the cleaning of streets—matters of municipal housecleaning with which they are peculiarly fitted to grapple.

Closely associated with all the lines of activity which we have discussed are those efforts designed to raise municipal standards and instill into our citizens a keener appreciation of their duties in times of peace and within the borders of their town or city. We have all along been suffering from a perverted or wholly inadequate view of the importance of municipal government and of the true meaning of civic patriotism and its obligations. Too many have felt that the only way in which they were called upon to serve their country was upon the field of battle or upon the quarter deck of a battleship, failing to realize that perhaps there

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was quite as much of heroism in voting for one's principles on election day, or in service upon a board of aldermen having the interests of a hundred thousand people and of millions of dollars of property in its charge. It is indeed an encouraging sign of the times to find, in all sections of our land, good citizenship leagues and good government clubs, municipal leagues and civic clubs working to inculcate a profounder and a more correct view of true civic patriotism, and seeking to create a public spirit in the interest of right municipal conduct that will be intolerant of any variation from the highest standards of municipal righteousness and efficiency.

Within the past few years the National Municipal League has come to play an important part in the development of municipal reform, in that it has brought together for an interchange of views those interested in municipal problems. It has sought to produce that helpful inspiration which comes from the contact of those working along similar lines under differing environments. It has stimulated a closer study of municipal conditions, a keener observation of the shortcomings and defects of municipal administration, and a profounder and more intelligent appreciation of the difficulties of the situation. Through its national conferences for good city government, public interest has been aroused and reform workers educated and inspired, and a literature produced that has been of untold value to the student and practical administrator alike. The proceedings of these conferences, published each year, form, in the opinion of intelligent critics, the most substantial addition thus far made to the literature of the subject.

In this hasty review we have mentioned the ways in which reformers are working and the movements to bring them into closer relations and to create a more generally diffused public spirit. No attempt has been made to indicate, even in the slightest way, the great and substantial progress that has thus far attended them. I have not sought to show the number or membership or accomplishments of the constantly growing list of organizations. Suffice it to say that the development has been such as to fill with the liveliest hope of an early realization those who have been laboring, in season and out, for many years in the cause of the better government of our American cities.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

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THE ORIGIN OF MORALITY.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L.

THE firing of the cannon being over, interest in other than war subjects may revive, and attention will be attracted to the elaborate and important work in which Mr. Alexander Sutherland applies the principle of evolution to the origin and growth of the moral instinct.*

It is the well-known lot of every great discovery, after being first received as a paradox, possibly as a heresy, ultimately to become a universal solvent and perhaps a craze. One familiar instance is the discovery of the circulation of the blood, which after being strenuously denied and contemptuously ridiculed, was followed by the general treatment of the questions of human physiology as problems in hydraulics. Evolution has been no exception to the law. It was at first received in most quarters not only with incredulity, but with aversion; in some quarters with horror. Now everything is Evolution. The tendency surely reaches its climax when to reconcile us to the manifold imperfections, moral, historical and scientific, of the Bible, the evolutionary theory is applied to revelation. Revelation is a manifestation of the divine nature through inspired writings or in some other way. To be revealed at all, the divine nature must be fully revealed, since an imperfect revelation of character, divine or human, would be false. An evolution of revelation would seem, therefore, to imply an evolution of God. It would, at all events, assume the divine operation to be subject to a law which we cannot conceive otherwise than as one of physical necessity, identical with that of which the worm is developed into the ape and the ape into the man. If this is not exactly Pantheism, it is

* "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct." By Alexander Sutherland, M. A. 2 vols. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898.

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something still more remote from the common idea of a moral and personal God.

Admitting, as everyone who is open to reason must admit, that evolution is a most momentous discovery and has profoundly altered our views of the origin and present estate, if not of the destiny, of man, we may be permitted to doubt whether it has at once assumed its ultimate form and found its final limits. Men of science are not agreed—indeed, they differ widely—as to the probable age of our planet; but they are all agreed, and if they accept the evolutionary theory plainly must be agreed, in holding that the earth had a beginning. The Darwinian theory is that evolution works through natural selection; in other words, through the improvement of accidental variations under the influence of surroundings. An eminent Darwinian was asked what length of time it would probably take on any conceivable theory of probabilities to evolve in this way a bird which would build a nest in anticipation of laying an egg. Some birds, it is true, do not build nests, but many do, and to them the question applies. The answer, which was not very prompt or confident, involved the intervention of imitation. But here was another principle which had itself to be evolved by natural selection, and would apparently require countless aeons for its evolution. It is not likely that even such a master-mind as that of Darwin has reached the whole truth at a bound.

Especially we may be allowed to suspend our belief with regard to the final relation of the discovery to human action and character. That it has profoundly changed our ideas upon these subjects and exploded much of our moral philosophy cannot be questioned. We can no longer rest our faith on anything supernatural, transcendental, or intuitive. We can no longer believe in any innate moral sense, unless it be in the way of hereditary transmission. Kant's "categorical imperative" disappears, together with the implanted sense of right and wrong, and with Butler's divinely accredited conscience, which, "if it had power as it has authority, would rule the world." Even apart from Darwin's discovery, theories of the immutable distinction between right and wrong and of the moral law engraved on our hearts would be confuted by the variations in the moral code among the different races of mankind.

On the other hand, it does not seem possible that, without

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the intervention of anything miraculous or any breach in the continuity of development, moral action and character may be the commencement of a new order of things in such a sense that the transition would be a *saltus mortalis* for any purely physical theory of evolution. From the worm to the man, still more from the primeval concurrence of atoms to the man, the progress may be unbroken, but the change, if there is such a thing as change, is vast; and there is no apparent reason for assuming that it has been arrested at the particular point up to which the Darwinian theory explains it.

It may be true that the rudiments of morality are found in brutes. They are, however, rudiments only. The most remarkable of them owe their existence to the influence of man and to the hope of good or fear of punishment at his hands. Brutes show no tendency to spontaneous improvement, though a habit impressed by man may become hereditary in a breed. The attachment of a dog to its master, often intense and touching, is at the same time blind. The dog shows no sign of moral discrimination. Bill Sykes's dog was just as much attached to his master as ever was the dog of a philosopher or saint. We cannot imagine a brute forming an idea of moral excellence, or striving to attain a moral ideal.

Mr. Sutherland undertakes to evolve all morality out of sympathy. He connects his theory with the general idea of Adam Smith's "Moral Sentiments," though Adam Smith could, of course, have no knowledge of evolution. He traces scientifically, it might almost be said ultra-scientifically, the growth of sympathy from the very lowest orders of animal life up to its highest development in man. The term "sympathy" is used by him in an extended and, it may be thought, hardly legitimate, sense as comprehending not only fellow-feeling, but affection of all kinds, conjugal affection, for instance, and the mutual affection of parent and child. He would thus seem to exclude from the pale of morality actions which are done from the pure sense of duty and characters formed upon that sense, such as the character of William III. or Washington; falling thus into an error opposite to that of Kant, who held the best action not to be moral if it was done not from a sense of duty, but because it gave pleasure to the agent. He would seem also to exclude self-control and good habits, such as temperance, continence, industry, or frugality,

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formed for the benefit of the agent alone. Morality, according to all common notions of it, is regulative; while sympathy and affection are impulsive and require a rule to make them moral. We can hardly feel convinced, therefore, that Mr. Sutherland, though he may have collected many interesting facts and thrown side-lights on the subject, has solved his great problem.

A moral philosopher who is a thorough-going evolutionist must apparently be a thorough-going necessarian. He must believe, in fact, that our actions are predetermined, like the course of physical events, presumably from the very beginning of things. A thorough-going necessarian Mr. Sutherland is, as the following passages show:

"But sometimes we become imbued with a strong belief in will-power as something of itself selective and determinative. When we see a man who refuses to be the sport of circumstances, who does not drift with the current, but strikes boldly out for some definite point on the shore, we are inclined to regard him as one who can rise superior to the laws of causation. Yet the two factors in the determination of such a man's career are independent of his volition; how came he by that strong will-power, and what were the exterior circumstances that gave to it its tone and direction? That will power must be hereditary; he did not create it. The man born without it can never make it for himself. And, moreover, whatever be the appearances, this will-power is necessarily, in regard to its scope and direction, the sport of circumstances." II., 108.

"Moreover, this 'will-power' that I have discussed with the ordinary terms, is no separate existence, no real entity. It is only a capacity of being so powerfully attracted by one motive that other motives become insignificant. It is as if the iron ball of our illustration were so decidedly drawn by one particular kind of magnet, that the others had little or no power to deflect its course."—II., 109.

"It is hard to persuade the common-sense man that he never really makes a deliberate choice; yet in fact all that his judgment can do is to weigh the various attractions of several motives, and the more powerful must certainly prove victorious, as when a child measures with his eyes two pieces of cake and thinks he chooses the larger, when it is in reality the larger pie ce which has attracted him."—II., 110.

"In general, when we deliberate, we are only giving to our minds the time to picture to themselves in imagination the more distant motives for action. One of the crew of a foundered ship afloat in the lifeboat beneath a tropic sky might long to drink a cool draught of the ocean waters. If he deliberates it is because fancy begins to elaborate all the joys of later life, inevitably lost if such a draught be drunk. He is reckoned to be a strong-willed man if he insists upon drinking in spite of the warnings and entreaties of his fellow-sufferers. Nevertheless, he is considered a strong-willed man if, on the contrary, day after day, in spite of the horrid temptation to drink, he remains true to his motive of once more seeing home and family. He is considered a man of weak will if he is inclined now one way and now another. But in every case his action will be determined by the attraction which these motives exercise on a mind of his class."—II., 111.

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All this, we venture to submit, is hypothesis, and apparently, from the nature of the case, incapable of verification. Science cannot inspect a motive as it inspects a physical force or ingredient, submit it to experiment, ascertain what it is, how it acts, what determines its strength or weakness. The strongest motive is that which in the end prevails; no more scientific definition can be given.

It will be observed that in the passages quoted there is recognized, besides the motives by the comparative force of which action is supposed to be absolutely determined, something which compares these weights with each other and ultimately strikes the balance between them. What is this determining factor? To put the case in another and a broader way, what is it that makes us conscious and reflecting agents; in what does our personality consist?

We not only balance motives against each other at the time of action, but we afterwards reflect on our decision and commend or blame ourselves, according as the decision appears to us to have been right or wrong. If this is a mere delusion, how is the existence of the delusion to be explained? What are self-approval and remorse if the action about which they are felt is merely the resultant of forces over which we have no more control than the magnet and the iron have over the resultant of their approximation to each other? Nobody imagines that anything like the phenomena of the retroactive conscience can have a parallel in the case of purely physical agents.

The necessarian hypothesis is not, and we do not see how it ever can be, an observed or demonstrated fact. It is a supposed intellectual necessity. It can appeal for verification to nothing but our consciousness, and by our consciousness it is distinctly and uniformly denied.

"The constitution," says Bishop Butler, "of the present world and the condition in which we are placed is as if we were free. And it may perhaps justly be concluded that since the whole process of action, through every step of it, suspense, deliberation, inclining one way, determining, and at last doing as we determined, is as if we were free, therefore we are so." This is old-fashioned reasoning, antecedent to the discovery of evolution. But can it be positively shown to have been affected by that discovery? Bishop Butler would have, no doubt, admitted at the time

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of his writing, and would still more emphatically admit now, that the word "free" required important qualification in view of the influences of surroundings, hereditary tendencies, and other circumstances which limit the action of the will. He would have admitted, to adopt Mr. Sutherland's illustration, that it makes an immense difference whether a boy is brought up in the home of an English squire or in that of a German musician. But he would probably have insisted that this did not extinguish, though it limited, his moral freedom. Is it not possible that physical science as well as popular opinion may have its *idola*, and that one of them may be that nothing can have any real existence which is not capable of being explained by the Darwinian hypothesis?

It is surely paradoxical to say that "the absence of free will does not imply absence of responsibility." What can imply absence of responsibility if it is not implied in the absence of any power of self-control or self-determination? The phenomena of moral responsibility, it is true, directly contradict the necessarian hypothesis. But they are phenomena all the same, and those who deny the reality of their existence still feel themselves constrained to assume it in moral judgments of all kinds, in penal legislation and in the whole conduct and intercourse of life. Mr. Sutherland, in perfect consistency with his theory, denies that punishment is retributive, since if it were it would imply free agency in the person on whom it is inflicted. He maintains that it is merely preventive. But surely it is also retributive if it is proportioned, as all reasonable punishment is, to the gravity of the offence. If nothing but prevention were considered, our punishments should be measured only by their preventive effect. We might punish shoplifting or petty larceny with death. Such, in fact, was the principle of the penal code of England in the last century. But juries rebelled against the application of the code because it was not retributive, or, to use a plainer term, just; and the laws had in the end to be repealed.

Mr. Sutherland recognizes, as nobody who chooses to accept phenomena can help recognizing, the existence of moral ideals and of conscious effort to realize them. How, on the evolutionary hypothesis, can he account for the existence of the ideal, or the attempt at realization?

It can hardly be said that anyone has yet been able to afford the necessarian theory that which would be its decisive

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confirmation, by treating human history as a subject of exact science. The most important attempt is that of Comte, whose well-known theory is that the course of history is determined by man's mode of explaining phenomena, and in accordance with that law has passed through three stages; the theological stage, in which phenomena are explained by the action of deity, beginning with Fetichism and ending with Monotheism; the metaphysical stage, in which they are explained by the action of certain occult agencies, such as Nature; and the positive stage, which is that of purely scientific observation, ushered in by the work of Comte. It is assumed that the third stage is final, and this finality runs through the whole philosophy of Comte, who seems to think that progress has ended with his own era and undertakes to furnish humanity with a final religion, pantheon, and form of government. But the theory, however imposing and in some respects suggestive, has never been applied, nor apparently is it capable of being applied, to the particular facts. No such universal connection as it supposes has yet been proved to exist between man's reading of phenomena and his moral actions. The three zones of history cannot be identified; the metaphysical zone, especially, eludes definite location. Nor can they be said to be mutually exclusive, some of the greatest lights of positive science, Newton, for instance, having been also devout theists. The philosophy of history has no doubt greatly advanced; we understand far better than our forefathers the connection of events, the succession of eras, the influence of the general conditions of each era on individual character and action. For this, as well as for a more rational, comprehensive, and tolerant view of humanity generally, we are greatly indebted to the discoveries, still more perhaps to the spirit, of science. But no one has yet found it possible to deal with the phenomena of history as we deal with those upon observation of which the strict sciences are founded.

If it is said that the explanation of this is to be sought, not in any essential difference of the phenomena, but merely in the difference of complexity, we can only reply that when this difficulty has been overcome and the possibility of a science of history analogous to the physical sciences has thus been demonstrated, we shall all be ready to accept the demonstration.

Morality, surely, in the common sense of the term, is not an affection, sympathetic or otherwise, nor is it an instinct, any

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more than it is a divine revelation or a metaphysical necessity. It is simply another name for the rule of reason applied to human action and regulating man's natural appetites, desires, and affections for the good of the individual, the family, the community, the kind; in regard to the three last of which relations, man being a complex being, his interest is as much self interest as in regard to the first. In the case of the individual, the rule of reason presents itself as temperance, continence, industry, frugality, and other principles necessary to individual conservation; in the case of the family, it presents itself as domestic duty; in that of the country as civic duty; in that of humanity at large as general benevolence. Duty is another name for the observance of rules essential to our welfare in the different aspects of our being, especially in relation to our families, the community, and our fellow-men. It has its origin in the dawn of reason and reflection. Its warrant is general experience. It owes its sacredness to the voice of universal opinion. It is preserved by tradition, perhaps also by hereditary transmission. Conscience is the register in each man's mind of his observance or non-observance of the rule, with an apprehension of consequence, good or evil. The rule is improved, elevated, specialized, refined by each step in the progress of moral civilization. It varies in different races or nations, according to their stage of civilization, or under the influence of local circumstance and fashion, sufficiently to repel the hypothesis of its being implanted by the Creator or Nature in all breasts; but its general identity is preserved by the uniformity of human nature. So long as that uniformity continues, though we cannot proclaim the immutability of right or wrong, we are not in danger of confusion.

The utilitarian doctrine, in fact, appears to be sound provided that it is sufficiently comprehensive, and embraces all the needs, desires, and affections, domestic, social, intellectual and even æsthetic, as well as egoistic, of our complex human nature. The rule of the highest expediency will then be identical with morality. We may, in fact, dispense with the term "egoism" as well as with "altruism," which is its supposed opposite. There is a pleasure in self-sacrifice, and it is felt by the man's self.

Beyond morality, as the rule of the highest expediency and the regulator of our current actions, there appears to be such a thing as a moral ideal. Beauty of character, apart from the current use-

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fulness of moral habits, is a thing of which we all more or less have a perception and to which the highest of our species distinctly aspire. This beauty may be capable of resolution into usefulness, and the admiration which the sight of it produces in us may be simply a high degree of that which is produced in us by the sight of any perfect and exquisite adaptation. It may be so or it may not. If it is not, there would seem to be an indication of something beyond the practical requirements of our present existence, something corresponding to the idea of spiritual life. We are bound to scrutinize all moral as well as all physical phenomena, and to reject anything fanciful or superstitious. But we are not bound or warranted to deny the existence of phenomena because they are not capable of explanation by any physical theory. After all, is not the mystery of the universe unfathomable? Can we think it likely that the range of our five senses, upon the evidence of which all physical science rests, is coextensive with being? How can we tell what there is beyond?

The great religions are in fact pursuits of a moral ideal which is personified in God, and the attainment of which is regarded as an approximation to the divine nature, bringing with it everlasting bliss. They are in this distinguished from anything Fetichist and from the mere superstitious belief in the power of a tribal god, who is propitiated by sacrifices and rites unconnected with morality and sometimes distinctly immoral. This is eminently true of that which is far the greatest of all religions, Christianity. But the Christian ideal, however sublime and beneficent, is imperfect. It involves an impracticable secession from the world and disregard of all worldly interests. Christianity has had little influence on industrial, still less on public, life. Has not "To hell with Spain! Remember the 'Maine!'" been the cry of the most church-going of communities?

It has hitherto been the general belief that morality, besides being the dictate of our highest interest, was the command of God, in whom we have impersonated it, that conscience was His voice in our nature, and that it held out as the consequence of well or ill doing eternal reward or punishment. This belief, which is in fact essential to the common conception of conscience, has, on the most moderate estimate of its influence, been a powerful auxiliary to opinion and to law in the repression of individual appetites and passions, when by their violence they overcame the

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social sentiments and threatened the general welfare. It has also acted as a social sedative by holding out to those who have reason to repine at their present lot the prospect of a reversal of conditions in the next world, tempering thereby the dangerous force of envy as well as that of discontent. But faith in God and a future life is apparently losing its hold, and its departure is attended by heavings of social discontent and disaffection. Law may repress detected crime, but it must first detect; and if the voice of conscience is no longer heard in the breast, what is to restrain a man who thinks he can escape detection from gratifying his individual appetites and passions at the expense of his fellow-man or of the community? Transition, as history tells us, has its perils, though all may be destined to come right in the end. The work of earnest inquirers such as Mr. Alexander Sutherland, who are trying to place morality on a rational and sound foundation, is therefore most seasonable as well as good.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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OUR NATIONAL FOLLY AND ITS VICTIMS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. C. BRECKINRIDGE, U. S. A.

How much there has been of misery upon the land and how little upon the sea has been phenomenal in this war. Even if it were easy to fix the personal responsibility for the state of things which has prevailed, just punishment alone would not remedy the evil nor even avail to guard against its recurrence. Close study, followed by resolute action founded upon clear insight and profound wisdom, is needed if we would care for our soldiers as they ought to be cared for when the cry goes up, "To your tents, O Israel!"

Though the flower of our manhood is selected for our soldiers, and weaklings are systematically rejected, still it has been demonstrated that more soldiers died of disease than from wounds, and that they are more in need of protection from themselves than from the foreign enemy. How to secure protection from germ diseases is fairly well known, and the task demands steadfast persistence in doing just the right thing at the right time. This is as clear a military duty as assaulting an enemy's works or taking due advantage of cover on the skirmish line. Therefore, we must try to perform this duty, also, in such a way that, even if we fail and are stricken, we shall remain blameless.

On these two demands all the duties of a soldier depend, viz.: (1.) To take proper care of himself, so that (2.) he can give a good account of himself when he faces the enemy; and no soldier has the right to weaken the fighting line by failing to take proper care of his health. This is an individual, as well as a collective, duty.

In all other civilized nations, a certain comparatively small percentage is taken annually into the armies, and prepared for war surrounded and dominated and properly advised by several

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times their number of men who are old soldiers, already inured to camp life and the march, from whom all watchful care and proper guidance and restraint can be expected every moment of the day; and on every matter, however trivial and incidental it may appear. These few recruits are absorbed into the perfect organization without display of effort, and their inexperience or ailments produce no strain nor catastrophe, for they are not the whole organization, but only a part of it, while the evil effects of their ignorance of the conditions of military life are minimized by the universal and individual instruction surrounding them. But in an improvised army, where all are recruits and all are equally unused to the exigencies of soldiering, the conditions are reversed, and the fact that they are massed together magnifies the discomforts and disease like the revelations of a microscope.

Nothing appears more insignificant in a library than simply pulling a trigger with one finger, but just there hangs all the art of war. And all the health of the command hangs upon the control of the still more minute microbe. What is the soldier going to do about it? His orders are explicit that he shall protect himself tirelessly against disease; and it is his bounden and constant duty to obey, even to the uttermost. The unending demand may not be easy; but a soldier's life in times of war is, proverbially, not an easy one, nor yet his death. The good soldier cares for himself and his comrade as well as for his country, and there is a constant call for all his care if he will only heed it.

The distinctive quality of a soldier is his ability to do, and his familiarity with doing, his very best in large masses. How awkward even the leaders of germans, or winners of athletic contests in the field, appear when they first enter the ranks as soldiers, and what a strain upon their endurance they find the new demands to entail, the death roll shows and there are living witnesses to testify. But all men admire a magnificent review, as it displays the well ordered power of young men in their might. To this it is essential that these youths shall be assembled together in groups equal to a city in size, but nearly as nature made them; without sanitary plumbing or fresh marketing, without aqueducts or sewers; and it falls on them to take care of themselves, day and night. Perhaps, in an improvised army, the corporal knows no more than the colonel about how to do the thousand and one

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little things essential to the health and well being of the men, from keeping their beds off the ground to grinding coffee without a mill; and, being unaccustomed to such duties, how easily both can demonstrate in practice that the things, even if attemped, can be ill-done; and when done in a slipshod way they are worse than ineffective, and the ill results flow as naturally from inexperience as water flows to the sea. In this way the circle of cause and effect is complete. Soldiers must be organized and trained in camps for victory. But camps are as dangerous as battles are. Shall we, therefore, have no battles nor camps?

Our young men will continue, as their fathers did, to look these dangers fearlessly, but not heedlessly, in the face, whenever our country calls them to arms; but there should be no useless sacrifice of such precious lives. To care for them is an unquestionable duty of the Government, which cannot be innocently ignored. The law should make adequate provision for preparation for war. Does it do so? The camp should be ready for the recruit before he enters it, and everything he needs for health or comfort or instruction—clothing, tents, weapons, well-cooked food, medical stores—should be ready to his hand. Has it ever been so with us? From the Revolutionary War till now, have we not paid in shattered constitutions for careless, inconsiderate military legislation; and will it not continue to be so even unto the end? Liberal and extravagant expenditure of blood and treasure after war is declared may make up the deficiencies which existed when the war began because of previous inattention and niggardliness; but when war is on there is a new reckoning. It is the blood of brave men that cries aloud from the ground against such unpreparedness. What an improvised army needs is as easily determined as what a regular army needs; and should be as carefully provided in advance. But have we had any law upon the statute book heretofore authorizing, compelling, such preparation? The dangers of camp life which, if not so imposing to the imagination, are equally dread with those of battle, fall principally upon the volunteer. This was clearly demonstrated at Chickamauga, when the regulars were ordered thence to win the victories of Santiago de Cuba, while the surgeons protested against the volunteers even taking a practice march in the lamentable state of their health, which was due principally to preventable diseases. After the volunteer has enlisted and been dis-

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charged, slick tongues in plenty advocate his cause in consideration for his vote; but the seeds of trouble have been already sown and misery is broadcast over the land. Is it not evident that we should always have ready for immediate use, tentage and arms and staff and supplies for 250,000 men, and these of the finest quality? Dare we believe such provision will be ready for the next war any more than it was for that of 1861 or 1812? In the future, as in the past, will not the volunteer be made to suffer in his first camp by lack, not only of recent but of old appropriations, and of proper preparation and of a due accumulation of cannon and all else that cannot be made in a day or two? And then, as always, the pensions must be increased beyond all proportion to the dangers endured, simply because legislative inattention has reigned.

The records may never show the wrecked constitutions that can be traced along the unskilled company kitchens and sinks, nor the heartburnings that attend those enthusiastic days and weeks when the young man offers himself as a willing sacrifice to uphold the cause of his country and finds himself in ceaseless misery, sans clothes, sans food, sans arms, sans tents, sans everything; and it begins to dawn upon him that he is in a new life, and had better look out for himself if he wishes to live long enough to get into his first battle. But the pity of it may dwell in the hearts and memories of those who have watched these things and struggled night and day in some measure to relieve them; and who have seen generous hearts all over the nation, from Executive Mansion to mountain cabin, send good cheer and loving encouragement; and who have thrilled to witness these stalwart youths, moulded into splendid organizations, stream by with every promise and assurance of victory fluttering above their banners, which have enlightened the world again and again as to the resolute and enduring character of American patriotism and prowess. Whether in sickness or in health, the women of the land can thank God daily that they have taken such men to their heart of hearts. And upon such as these the honor and success of our nation securely rests.

How earnestly every official has labored, what sympathy for the soldier each one has felt, and the enthusiasm and zeal displayed in what all realized to be the cause not only of the country but of humanity, is known everywhere, to all; for the best

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sentiment of all of every station is enlisted inexpressibly in our country's cause. If there were not, at first, enough trousers nor shoes, nor tents, nor hospital stores, nor arms, is it not clear that the blame, however sharp and close, must also justly run far back beyond the opening of this war, and that this deplorable condition is simply part and parcel of the unadulterated folly which has pursued our volunteers from the beginning—the folly not wholly of to-day, but of yesterday? We have been suffering the acute and painful stage of the national folly of military unreadiness—a consuming folly for which tribute is due. Aye, and tribute is paid in the blood of our dearest! See their emaciated figures from chosen camps of instruction at Chickamauga or Tampa, those stricken forms from the dark jungles of Las Guasimas, or the thorny slopes of San Juan, and give heed to their dread story in due time. Have we not the just right to appeal to our country again and again for proper provision for those who uphold her banners in the hour of need? Or shall our young men shrink from such hardships, dangers and death when our country calls for them?

The response to the country's call has been such as we would have it. Our young men in their manly truth and beauty have met the duty of their day. Nor have they sickened nor been stricken in vain. It is best that war should be short, sharp and decisive. And it has been all this. And those who have borne the brunt of the contest and the camp have done so unflinchingly, unmurmuringly. In the voice now raised in their behalf at Santiago or Montauk Point, all the nation joins, for it is just and righteous altogether. We have witnessed their sufferings, and they shall be recognized, and, God willing, righted. The nation may not have been prepared to care for them as her heart and ours craved they should be cared for; because she would have gathered them under her wings as a hen gathereth her chickens. But there was no time to wait. Come what would, the starvation of the innocents was to be immediately stopped, and the dastardly destruction in a friendly port of our men-of-war would not be endured. The task set was worthy to set a world on fire. Have we not the right to ask our fellow countrymen: Has not the rescue been complete? No one now suffers but soldiers and sailors, and those who have loved them dearly. There let the pain continue, if it must. It will be

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stoutly borne. And then let some credit also be given, if in our fellow countrymen's kindness it may seem that any is due, for duty faithfully, zealously done.

And the fallen, are they not buried out of our sight? But how inexpressibly dear to our memory! Before their serried shades we stand uncovered, steadfastly gazing at the sadness that abides and the unending glory they have won for their country. Shall their names and services, can we afford to let them, be soon forgotten? While memory holds her reign beneath the dome of thought these cherished names, these deeds of heroes, these untoward sufferings, are wholly ours to enshrine and to bless forever.

J. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

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THE UNITED STATES NAVY UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL LIFE.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

No one without a personal interest in the issue of the struggle could have anticipated with more pain the approach of collision between the peoples of the United States and of Spain than I did. No one could have more earnestly desired, up to the last minute, that some way, other than the clash of arms, might have been found to lead out of the difficulty. I was very sorry for Spain. But I am bound to say that I was very sorry for the United States, too. There never was any question about her winning, though I did not anticipate so entire and hopeless a collapse as Spain developed. But the thought that was constantly in my mind, and over and over again found expression in words, was that the United States could never come out of the war as she went into it. She was about to feel, for the first time in her history, her real position in the world. Up to the outbreak of the war, she had always been able to assert herself in reliance upon her mass and weight, and her prospective rather than her real power. When, at rare intervals, she took her place in the councils of the nations, she was, as it may be said, self-contained. She so little dreamed of making sacrifices corresponding to the position she assumed, that she drew a great kingdom's revenue from the pockets of her people, to re-distribute it in the form of pensions to the enormous number of those, and of the successors of those, who had sacrificed themselves for her in the days gone by. In rewards to those she spent as much as Great Britain, not long ago, spent on her whole army and navy, pensions included. The accounts showed disbursements in 1897, in this behalf, of more than one

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hundred and forty-one millions of dollars, when the sum allowed for the maintenance of the army was only somewhat over twenty-three millions of dollars, and of the navy only thirty and a half millions of dollars.

To be able to do these wonderful things was the result of self-containedness, and a real isolation. In many ways, perhaps in most ways, the condition was a happier one than can ever again show itself. Yet it was inevitable that the aspirations to which Mahan has given such eloquent voice in his essays, should at some time or other take active form. I am not at all sure that the words of this prophet have not, as ever of old, hastened the fulfillment of the prophecy. But I remember expressing my hopes to him, on the publication of his first great book, that his countrymen might long delay taking to heart the teaching he enforced.

But now that peace is close at hand, the end is that the United States is for the first time giving hostages to fortune, and taking a place in the world that will entail on her sacrifices and difficulties of which she has not yet dreamed. It is impossible to foresee what violent changes in the character and polity of her great Republic must come about before she can submit calmly and resignedly to those sacrifices which Great Britain has often kicked against, and which are to the nations of Continental Europe an almost intolerable burden.

So long as the Empire of the United States of America was contained in a ring fence of land and sea frontiers, she had, in all international disputes, the enormous advantage of unattackableness. No one could get at her from the outside with any hope of success. It was even impossible to apply to her the anaconda policy which was death to the Confederate States alone. She laughed at the idea of blockade, for the power which more than any other might be able to apply such a method of coercion, would, in applying it, wound herself more deeply than it was possible to wound her adversary. But with outlying territories, especially islands, a comparatively weak power has facilities for wounding her without being wounded in return which did not hitherto exist. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the other islands in the Antilles which Spain is to cede; the island in the Ladrones, and such parts of the Philippines as may in the end pass to the United States, cannot in any case be held by her if she goes to war with

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a country possessing a superior navy to her own. If she will accept the sacrifice of charging herself with the maintenance of a predominant navy, then these new possessions will have brought her additional strength, additional power of enforcing her views among the nations of the earth. But the military strength will come from the navy which is resolute and able to retain possession of the islands, not from the islands themselves, which the navy protects. But if this predominant navy is not maintained, the islands can only be sources of strategical weakness; putting a check on the aspirations to influence international councils, which we must certainly expect to see increased, and making the voice of the United States more hesitating, because of the ease with which her island possessions may be rent from her, and her consciousness of the fact. Had Spain possessed the predominant navy, the United States could never have contemplated, still less have succeeded in, her attack upon Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. In like manner, it will be hopeless for the United States to dream of retaining her new possessions in a war with a country which has a navy superior to her own. There is no plainer doctrine than that of the predominant navy, yet there is none which is less easily assimilated by statesmen; while even the highest authorities on such a point may fail to accept the doctrine in its fullness, in which way alone can there be a practical use in it. There is a natural hesitation in pushing such things to their extreme point, and yet I fear they must be so pushed, or let alone.

Thus Mahan in his powerful and stirring essay on "Hawaii and Our Future Sea Power," which is the keynote of the thoughts that fill "The Interest of America in Sea Power," writes with entire truth up to a certain point, and yet hesitates to accept the inevitable consequences. After setting out the aspirations for outlying sea-girt territory, which are at the moment spreading so widely among the nations, and after contemplating their consummation by the United States, he says:

"There is, however, one caution to be given from the military point of view, beyond the need of which the world has not yet passed. Military positions, fortified posts, by land or by sea, however strong or admirably situated, do not confer control by themselves alone. People often say that such an island or harbor will give control of such a body of water. It is an utter, deplorable, ruinous mistake. The phrase, indeed, may be used by some only loosely, without forgetting other implied conditions of adequate protection and adequate navies; but the confidence of our own nation in its native strength, and its indifference to the defense of its ports and the suffi-

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ciency of its fleet, give reason to fear that the full consequences of a forward step may not be weighed soberly. Napoleon, who knew better, once talked in this way. 'The islands of San Pietro, Corfu and Malta,' he wrote, 'will make us masters of the whole Mediterranean.' Vain boast! Within one year Corfu, in two years Malta, were rent away from the State that could not support them by its ships. Nay, more; had Bonaparte not taken the latter stronghold out of the hands of its degenerate but innocuous government, that Citadel of the Mediterranean would perhaps—would probably—never have passed into those of his chief enemy. There is here also a lesson for us."

No language could more accurately express the reality of the case. It is impossible for a power with an inferior fleet to retain its island possessions in war if they are attacked by the power possessing the superior fleet. And that is a proposition not limited by geographical conditions. It was the power geographically near to Malta that lost it; it was the power geographically far from Malta that took it and held it. And the case is in no way changed by the transference of sea power from the agency of the wind to the agency of coal consumption. The Spanish difficulty from first to last was the want of a superior fleet. Cervera's coaling troubles only existed for a force which dared not openly meet the enemy. Distant operations only differ in degree to operations near at hand, when the superior fleet is concerned. The only real hindrance in such a case would be where there was no sheltered water in the vicinity of his objective unprotected by works so strong that it could not be possessed but after long siege. The new territories or appendages of the United States nowhere possess this advantage in defence, and it is impossible to doubt that if any of them are hereafter attacked by a power with a superior fleet they will fall. Not so rapidly or so easily as they have now fallen, but quite as certainly.

But Mahan feels the difficulty of facing the full import of the doctrine he has laid down. He would be glad to be quit of it if he could. But he can only escape by contending—in effect—that the position of the United States, in possession of a moderate navy, may stave off war. He cannot, I think, mean that if war were declared, an inferior navy could save Hawaii if it were attacked; nor can he, I consider, fully mean that Hawaii would not be attacked. But, in any case, it is not maintainable that Cuba and Puerto Rico would be secure against either attack or capture by a European power having a superior navy at the outbreak of the war, because the United States, with the inferior navy, is nearer

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to those islands geographically. The leading authority on all these questions continues:

"It is by no means logical to leap from this recognition of the necessity of adequate naval force to secure outlying dependencies, to the conclusion that the United States would need for that object a navy equal to the largest now existing. A nation as far removed as is our own from the bases of foreign naval strength may reasonably reckon upon the qualification that distance—not to speak of the complex European interests close at hand—impresses upon the exertion of naval strength by European powers. The mistake is when remoteness, unsupported by carefully calculated force, is regarded as an armour of proof, under which any amount of swagger may be indulged in safely."

This view passes clearly from the strategical point, at which the first position was sketched, to the administrative and political. It is without question proper to change the point of view, but the new empire must not mistake the one for the other, or it will waste itself without avail. It might unquestionably be that a European power at war with the United States would be greatly hampered by the political necessity of retaining naval force in her own waters in observation, as it were, of the results of political changes in Europe, and might therefore be unable to face with undoubted superiority the naval forces which the United States, with but a moderate navy, might be able to detach for the defence of her new possessions or appendages in the Pacific, the West Indies, or the Eastern Seas. I scarcely think it can be doubted that Mahan's view in this matter will be the one which the Government of the United States will strive to adopt and preserve.

But will not the feeling among the people of the States be ultimately that which has for some years prevailed in the United Kingdom? Not so many years ago the average Englishman proposed to save his pocket, while he left it doubtful whether an attack by France alone might not rend his empire in pieces. Now, spasms of alarm seize us from the moment it is hinted that Russia and France together might find us only on an equality with them in the matter of naval force. It is becoming not uncommon to urge that we ought to be superior to any three naval powers, and I see at present nothing to bar a continued increase of naval expenditure but an instinctive outcry against the burden of taxation. It may be long before that burden will be really felt in the United Kingdom by those who express the public thought and raise the public voice because of the incidence of taxation. The burden is borne by those who are supposed to be

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most able to bear it, and otherwise the general taxation is light. In this way the two hundred and twenty millions or so of dollars that go to defensive forces is as yet not felt, and the public voice is all in favor of still larger expenditure. How it will be in the United States it may not be so easy to say, but I feel convinced that it will be impossible to merge the strategical into the political situation, and that if the Administration should endeavor to use the latter in an argument to limit expenditure, the nakedness of outlying territories which have not a predominant navy ready to support them is likely to be more and more felt by all those sections of the people who are less financially pressed by increased expenditure, and that a great navy, maintained by great sacrifices, will be the result.

It has again been so plainly manifested that a nation with a preponderating navy is like a one-armed man, unless there be a considerable army behind it, that we cannot suppose that there will be contentment unless this end also is achieved. The military, or the warlike, spirit grows by what it feeds on, and a very large, perhaps an enormous, expenditure on what is neither army nor navy, will follow. And it will do so in spite of reason. The acquirement of outlying dependencies is a challenge to the world, and as it is felt to be such, so will the idea of defenceless coasts magnify itself. To onlookers the money spent upon the local defence of the United States coast ports seemed to be wasted in the Spanish war. The fact that there are increases in the power of the land and sea forces, and that therefore every port and every stretch of coast is thereby better protected, has in the British Empire an effect which denies reason. We cannot increase the expenditure upon the general defence of the Empire without stimulating the national thought to demand even greater increases in the local defence, and the greatest flaws in the chain of reasoning put forward to back the demand have little effect in checking the supply.

I do not think the administrative prudence which Mahan counsels will in the end make itself felt so much as the unreflecting claim for all kinds of expenditure, which can by any verbal process be twisted into the form of a defensive object. I fear, therefore, that between the certain fact that the new dependencies can only be retained by a predominant navy; the administrative endeavor to curtail an expenditure that it will be difficult

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to meet; and the general turning of the public mind to military problems, and the alarm that surely accompanies such study; there is likely to be a great expenditure with but little apprehension of the real strategical position; so that there may come trouble, contention, waste of energy, and yet little real advance in strength.

But if it could be that there were a resting place short of a predominant navy—which I do not believe there is for a country with outlying dependencies—I think it would be found in the localization of a defensive navy.

So much error mixes itself with this idea as we have seen it put into practice, that a few words become necessary in explanation. The reason why an outlying dependency cannot be held in war except by a predominant navy is that the defence can never assemble locally a force equal or superior to the attacking force; and because the place will not be attacked except by such superior force. The attacking power estimates the force that is established, or may be established, locally in the dependency before the attack is determined on, and the force despatched for the attack will be vastly superior to the local force. If it were possible to locally defend every point liable to attack to such an extent as would convince an adversary that conquest would prove to be a loss to him and not a gain, then, indeed, local defence might prevent attack, though it could not prevent surrender if the attack were made. But the idea of so defending involves generally — perhaps always — a mathematical absurdity. The greater the expediture of men and money in the defence of any outlying point, so much the greater is the wound inflicted on the defending power by the capture of such point. Nations at war do not expect to always make a profit to themselves out of every combat. They are ready to lose by a conquest if the loss to the adversary is still greater; and the whole power of a nation which has the predominant navy may be judiciously and properly thrown into the attack of one point which is absolutely valueless to the attacking power, if the defence of it will produce exhaustion in the state of the defending power. We had a perfect illustration of this strategical axiom in the case of Sevastopol. There the whole power of England and France was thrown into the attack only because the whole power of Russia was thrown into the local defence, and it was certain that she was gradually

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exhausting herself in the effort. Everyone now understands that had Russia evacuated the Crimea the moment the armies of England, France and Turkey landed, she would have done much better for herself than she did by attempting to hold out, and so becoming exhausted in the attempt to do that which is impossible, namely, to defend an outlying position locally.

Russia's exhaustion in this case proceeded from the fact that it was much easier for the allied powers to place a given force in the vicinity of Sevastopol, than it was for Russia to place an equal force to meet it. But because of the freedom of her land communications with Sevastopol, Russia was for a long time able to compete—though only by an exhausting process—in placing force opposite to force as the siege of Sevastopol went on. Had the Crimea been an island, Sevastopol must have collapsed in a week or two, as Santiago did, because there would have been no possibility of throwing in reinforcements to meet those which the allies threw in by sea.

We see, therefore, that it is utterly impossible to defend outlying possessions locally in the way that has hitherto been attempted, namely, by fortifications and garrisons, the strength of which can be estimated before the attack is made. The attack will not be made at all except by forces superior to the garrison, accompanied by appliances calculated as sufficient to subdue the defending works. It is also certain that expenditure, however great, on works and garrisons, will not prevent attack, because that very expenditure will make conquest seem desirable to the enemy. In like manner the localization of ordinary naval force—armored vessels and cruisers—will not be any more useful. The attack will be supported by naval forces of the same kind, but in superior quantity, and this will put such defense out of court.

In England thirty years ago we fell into a double mistake on this head. We imagined that in war our existence as a nation would not be threatened, even though, for want of a predominant navy, we could not keep the war out of our own waters; and, on the understanding that the war would inevitably come into our own waters, we built armored ships without speed or coal supply, as well as considerable numbers of gunboats with very limited locomotive power, each armed with a single armor piercing gun. There was more to be said for the latter coast defenders than for the former; for while the force of the former could be

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measured and calculated on, so that a really superior force of the same kind could be prepared and dispatched to meet them, the cost of the one force being proportioned to the other, the only measure of the force of the gunboats was to take it gun for gun. The moment this was done it was seen that, for any given sum, the force of the gunboats was immensely greater than gun for gun in the ordinary ironclad, and that in any case the ordinary ironclad, with her battery of a few heavy guns, was the wrong sort of force to bring against the gunboats.

The fatal flaw, however, in the design of the gunboats was their want of locomotion. Unless they were assembled at the point of the coast attacked when the attack was made, they would be useless to prevent it or to ward it off, because they could not be assembled there in time. The only way to make them effective in defence would be to have them already in swarms at every point liable to attack. But this would have cost as much as to establish and maintain a predominant navy, and practically we have acted on that principle. We maintain the predominant navy, and we have abandoned the idea of coast defence vessels altogether.

Of course, we should be right in any case, even were the system of coast defence by special vessels of any class a sound one for those nations which cannot aspire to maintaining a predominant navy. But it is significant that though France and Russia do not hope for a predominant navy, and must expect that if they go to war with a nation possessing one the fighting will be in their own waters, they seem no longer disposed to add to their coast defence gun-ships and vessels. France, between 1875 and 1891, launched 14 coast defence gun vessels, and Russia, between 1863 and 1895, launched 15 coast defence gun vessels; but they are neither of them building any more.

But France, which has already 211 torpedo boats, is building, including destroyers, 46 more; and Russia, which has already 175 torpedo boats, including 1 destroyer, is building 28 more destroyers.

No one yet knows what these vessels, which are torpedo vessels first and gun vessels afterward, really mean, but it is universally admitted that their chief function is defensive and their chief time for operating is in the hours of darkness. It is not at all impossible that because this class of vessel put in so little appear-

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ance on either side during the late war, there may be a tendency, especially in the United States, to discredit it. The question is whether it will be logical to do so. If we go back to a fundamental principle of strategy, we shall note that absence of information as to the amount and nature of the defence operates as a strong preventive of attack; and the very fact that we do not know how complete a real torpedo boat defence may be brings it markedly into line with the fundamental principle. We are certain that, apart from any effect which may have been produced on American naval officers' minds by their recent experience, the thing which is most feared by naval officers is torpedo attack in darkness. Great American commanders have spoken of this fear as one that cannot be contended against, and on all these grounds we arrive at the conclusion that, if it is to be possible for the United States to stop short of aiming at a predominant navy, the defence of her new possessions will be best entrusted to vessels using the torpedo as their weapon, and of a class something near the French sea-going boats. The great powers of locomotion possessed by such vessels removes the flaw which has attended all attempts at coast defense by gunships; the immense numbers that can be produced for comparatively small sums, combining with the dread that, rightly or wrongly, possesses the officers of gunships which are exposed to their attack at night, suggests very strongly that France and Russia are rightly adding to their stock of these vessels. It is not even certain that they may not prove a real defence of outlying possessions when the attack is supported chiefly by heavy gunships. No one can say yet that a swarm of torpedo boats might not destroy a squadron in a night attack, though the cost of the first and its exposure of men was very much less than those of the second. Quite possibly it might be held to be unsafe to anchor a fleet of transports at any point subject to torpedo attack at night. In either of these cases an expedition might actually fail, simply because a true estimate of the power of torpedo defence could not be made.

I think that, if the United States were to adopt this system, they might make their new appendages safer than by any other method short of establishing a predominant navy; but I cannot say I think my suggestion is likely to be adopted. I do not observe that nations generally go very far in the application of the rules of strategy in the classes of ships they choose to build. I

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doubt if the United States will prove an exception. If Spain, instead of producing a navy like that of every other nation, only smaller, had spent half the money in crowding Cuban and Puerto Rican harbors with swarms of torpedo boats, it does not seem to me that the United States ships could have displayed the boldness and readiness that they did immediately after war was declared; and I cannot measure what the effect in the United States —or, indeed, all over the world—would have been, had a couple of capital ships succumbed to the attack of a group of torpedo boats. But Spain spent her money in producing a fleet without reference to her strategical position, and simply in imitation of larger navies. The money and men were absolutely wasted, and she would now have been in a better position had she never spent a penny or a man in that way. But I apprehend that the United States will in the end halt between two opinions. She will stop short of producing a predominant navy, but she will not stop short of aiming at one which has no special relation to her strategic position. I cannot but fear for her if ever the results are brought to the test. Therein, with other imaginings, lay my original qualms as I watched her stretching her arms toward Cuba. I trust that time will prove that they were groundless.

P. H. Colomb.

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MANUAL TRAINING AND THE POOR.

BY ELLIOTT FLOWER.

"To a very large extent the benefits of manual training are lost to us because we begin it at the wrong end of the educational system."

This statement was recently made by a man who has given a great deal of attention—in fact, most of his life—to the subject under discussion. While it is unquestionably an exaggeration to say that we begin it at the wrong "end" of the educational system, the idea that he intended to convey is made clear by the further statement that "manual training does not reach those who are most in need of it; or, to be more accurate, those most in need of it fail to reach manual training." If that be the case, it ought to be easy to find it out.

The first question to be settled is: Who gets manual training under existing conditions? The second is: Who ought to get it? In answer to the latter question many advocates of that branch of education will insist that all ought to get it, or at least that all ought to get a certain amount of it; that the knowledge and training acquired in this way may be of incalculable advantage to the man who works principally with his head, as well as the man who works principally with his hands. Consequently, perhaps the second question should read: Who is most in need of it? Is it the boy whose tastes and mental ability put a profession within his reach, or is it the boy whose tastes and mental ability put a profession practically out of the question, while possibly a natural aptitude for mechanics makes anything in that line easy and interesting to him?

In discussing these questions it is my purpose to show, first, just how close manual training gets to the masses, and after that to consider the necessity of bringing it right down to them. To

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that end I have looked into the requirements for admission to the manual training schools of various States, and have sought the views of those identified with both educational and philanthropic affairs, including State Superintendents of Education, and also workers in the slums. So far as possible, I shall let these answer the questions I have propounded; and I believe that what they say will show that most of us have been talking about the great good that manual training is doing without stopping to get the facts. Of course, there can be no doubt as to its value to those who get it, but it is probable that very few have stopped to think that it has been placed beyond the reach of more than nine-tenths of the children of the public schools. That is what confining manual training to the high schools means. More than nineteen-twentieths of the schools that have a course in manual training are maintained for less than one-tenth of the school population. Indeed, it is doubtful if the first fraction ought not to be larger and the second one smaller. And the strangest feature of it is that there seems to be little difference of opinion as to the value and necessity of manual training in the lower grades. In a few instances, a man who was requested to give his views has started out with a denial of the truth of the assertion that this form of education should be extended into the grammar schools, but he has usually ended by arguing for it.

Massachusetts furnishes as good an illustration of the condition of affairs as any State—in fact, a better one than most of them. She has given the subject a great deal of attention, and has a law that requires manual training to be a part of the course in high schools in all cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants. In addition to this, she has the outline of an ideal system of manual training, which has been made a feature of a report on that subject which has been prepared and issued under the supervision of her State Board of Education. It is as follows:

"The ideal system for a large city would seem to include provisions for the following:

"1. Elementary training in processes that belong to the manual or domestic arts, such as a competent teacher with adequate equipment can give under average school limitations.

"2. In the higher grammar grades, the departmental plan with a differentiation of work, the boys going to the shop and the girls to the kitchen—a plan that is favored if the work can be kept within the limits of the building.

"3. An independent high manual training school that in organization

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and development shall not be impeded by the traditions and circumstances of existing schools, and that shall offer courses to the girls as well as to the boys.

"4. An opportunity for those taking full courses in an English or a classical high school to take manual training, so abridged that it may be carried comfortably in addition to their regular work."

That system certainly would bring manual training pretty close to the kindergarten, and would put it within reach of practically all scholars. It is furthermore in line with the views of Mr. Frank A. Hill, the secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, who has been connected with two of the best manual training schools in the State, and whose views, consequently, must carry a great deal of weight. Mr. Hill has this to say on the subject:

"My experience with the Cambridge Manual Training School and the Boston Mechanic Arts High School (I was head master of the English High School in Cambridge, and later of the Mechanic Arts High School in Boston) and my subsequent study have convinced me that a well-rounded education involves, to some extent, manual or motor education, and that such education should be free to all school children. There are endless varieties of such training, of course, and some are more precious than others; but training on the action side as well as on the purely sensory and reflective side is imperatively needed by every child. If the schoolboy did not get a good deal of wild, purposeless and unregulated exercise I do not know what would become of him. But the energy that would express itself in action must be gathered up, well-directed and utilized, if the child would make the most of himself, for the reaction of the activity of the mind is invaluable."

In view of the law, the "ideal" plan and the opinion expressed by Mr. Hill as the result of his experience, one would naturally expect to find Massachusetts especially favored in the line of manual training. But, unfortunately, theory and practice do not always go hand in hand. The report that advances the "ideal" theory also conveys the information that in only two cities is manual training carried below the high school grade. Salem provides a course in carpentry for boys of the grammar schools, and Springfield has introduced manual training into the highest two grades of her grammar schools. According to statistics of school attendance, which does not vary greatly in the different cities, Springfield has brought this branch of education within reach of about twenty-five per cent. of her public school scholars. That certainly is not a high percentage, but it is better than the ten per cent. average.

Practically the same conditions exist in New York, with the

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exception that this training does not seem to be carried below the high school grades in any of the public schools of the State. In New York City there are one or two schools that bring manual training within reach of the very poor, but they are not connected with the public schools, and I shall discuss them later when I take up the work of philanthropists. So far as the public schools are concerned, State Superintendent Charles R. Skinner has made this statement:

"I think provision is made in nearly all the high schools of this State for a manual training course. More or less attention is given to it in the schools of New York City, and ample provision, I understand, is being made for establishing manual training departments in the new high schools now in process of erection there. So far as possible this training is open to all pupils, and when the boys especially are able to reach the College of the City of New York, which is in one sense a boys' high school, manual training is given to every pupil."

In other words, manual training courses are open to all—of the ten per cent. that get to the high schools. The other ninety per cent. must do the best they can without it. Mr. Skinner is rather cautious about giving his own views, but in quoting others he shows that the value of manual training in the lower grades is not overlooked, even if, as in Massachusetts, there is little of it except theory at the present time. Having explained what the State of New York has in this line, he continues:

"In a recent conversation with one of our city superintendents who has given this subject attention in the schools of his city, and who is very earnest in his advocacy of the system, he said: 'Manual training should be a part of the course of study for all children of all grades, because it is an essential part of any complete and symmetrical training, and because it will give to those who expect to enter any of the manual occupations an important part of the general preparation necessary for properly entering upon the special preparation for their trade or other occupation. Hence, I would first put it into the grade where all will get it. Our general courses have, in my judgment, been planned with special reference to those who are to enter clerkships or the professions. The great mass of people who must, and desire to, enter the manual occupations have a right to such an education as will fit them to take up the special preparation for these occupations. The public schools should not give special training, or instruction necessary for any occupation or profession until they can give it for all. In other words, we may not teach a trade, but we have as much right to do that as we have to train a physician.'

"Our superintendents differ in opinion with reference to the proper place for manual training in a school system. Many, like the one quoted above, believe in putting it in all grades of schools below the high schools. In this city (Albany) manual training is given little attention except in the high schools, the authorities believing that it should not be given generally to pupils in the grammar grades."

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The authorities of the Albany public schools must be classed with a very small minority, but of course there must be a minority. If there were no difference of opinion at all, there would be little or nothing to discuss. The superintendent Mr. Skinner quotes expresses the views of the great majority, and very likely of Mr. Skinner himself. And yet this extremely valuable branch of education is beyond the reach of ninety per cent. of the school population of New York.

Pennsylvania undertook to introduce manual training into the grammar grades, but the plan had to be abandoned—not because it proved a failure or did not come up to expectations, but because the school attendance grew so that the rooms had to be used for other purposes. There are thirteen State normal schools that have manual training courses, Girard College with its excellent plant, and a few private or endowed institutions; but, as in all other States, little or no provision is made for the boy who does not reach the high school. Yet the value of manual training in the lower grades is fully recognized by State Superintendent N. C. Schaeffer, who has this to say about it:

"Among the ancient Hebrews every boy was expected to learn a trade. The boy Jesus worked at the carpenter's bench. Among the Athenians the father who neglected to teach his boy reading, writing, swimming, and a trade could not in old age claim the support of a son whom he had thus neglected. Lord Rosebery, in a speech at Colchester, ascribes the recent advance of Germany in manufactures and commerce to the fact that for thirty or forty years the Germans have been ahead of the English in technical education. With the inventive genius that is characteristic of the American people we would have little to fear if our youth were generally taught the application of science to the arts, and if they had an opportunity to develop their talent for mechanical pursuits. Even a jack-knife in the hands of a boy who has had instruction in manual arts will do much to develop his taste and skill. The schools can never be made much better than the people want them to be, and there can be no great extension of facilities for manual training until the people generally perceive the educational and industrial value of this kind of instruction."

Undoubtedly true. The feeling is widespread in some quarters that it is degrading to work with the hands, and everyone wants to stand behind a counter or learn a profession; but that false idea is rapidly wearing away, and, if educators are so nearly unanimous in their views, it ought not to be such a very difficult matter to convince the public of the public's needs. In any event, the masses cannot be blamed for not attending schools that have been put beyond their reach.

Manual training, as a part of the public school system, is sup-

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posed to have made greater progress in the East than in the West, so the Eastern States must receive the most attention in this article. However, it would not be fair to neglect the Middle and Western States entirely. Wisconsin has a manual training school, of which she is justly proud, at Menominee, and State Superintendent of Education J. Q. Emery informs me that in this school manual training is extended to the grammar grades and has been so extended for years. Mr. Emery, however, denies the premises upon which I have founded this article: He says:

"I am of the opinion that for a young man desiring to make mechanics his life work, preliminary training tending to quicken and broaden his intelligence is of great value. Mind is the great pioneer force in all the world's work, and in my judgment a well trained mind is the most practical of all things. It can be put into constant everyday use. I cannot, therefore, agree with the statement that a boy with a taste for mechanics rather than professional or mercantile pursuits finds the education that would be of most value to him beyond his reach. It may be, however, that the special training schools need some readjustment to meet more fully the needs of such a case."

I have no fault to find with this general statement, but I do not see why such preliminary training should be confined entirely to those things that will have a tendency to make good clerks or professional men. Neither does Mr. Emery apparently, for he adds:

"In my opinion manual training should not be confined to the school of the grade of high schools. In my judgment, some phases of manual training should be brought within reach of those who, because of handicaps, never reach the high schools. A law of Wisconsin authorizes the establishment of manual training schools in connection with the free high schools of the State, and school districts that are authorized to maintain free high schools are, by our statute, authorized to maintain manual training schools. When maintained in conformity with standard fixed by the State Superintendent such schools receive State aid. While we start with the high school, it is our plan to extend manual training to the grades below the high school. There are some phases of manual training that it has not been found practicable to carry below such grades, but where the work is practicable I am heartily in favor of its being provided in the grammar schools."

This is another case in which the intentions are most creditable, but if this plan were carried into other lines—architecture, for instance—would not the advice of the architect be: "In building a house always begin with the roof and work down to the foundations?"

State Superintendent of Education S. T. Black of California gives his views in fewer words than any of the others, but there

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is no chance for any misunderstanding. After stating that "manual training is permitted in all our public schools and is practiced in many of our cities and towns" (presumably only in the high schools, although Mr. Black is not very clear on that point); that there are several private institutions, and that "the University will soon establish the Wilmerding Trade School," he adds: "The State ought to give every boy an opportunity to receive manual training."

To quote any more State Superintendents would be merely a waste of space, so far as the purpose of this article is concerned. Enough facts have been given to show that, except in rare instances, manual training for the poor is a delusion, and that the importance of providing for such training in the grammar and even primary grades is very generally recognized and admitted by the superintendents. But, before taking up the views of those who are working in the slums, or in other ways giving their attention to the needs of the very poor, it may not be amiss to add a little to the force of these views by giving the result of an investigation made by organized labor in Detroit last winter. The representatives of labor complained that the trade schools were beyond the reach of the poor man's children, and two or three people promptly took issue with them. To prove to them that they were wrong, an invitation was extended to a committee of the Detroit labor organizations to visit a manual training school at Toledo, Ohio, which, they were told, was all that they could ask. The invitation was accepted, and the report that the committee made upon its return home was to the effect that the school was beyond the reach of grammar school scholars, and, further, that of sixty-five scholars who were personally interviewed, only one could be properly termed a poor boy. The rest were sons of "retired merchants, bank tellers, superintendents, managers, clerks and so on," to quote from the report. The committee had no criticism for the school, except that it did not fulfil the requirements deemed essential—it was not for the poor boy, and consequently its educational merits could do him no good.

When it comes to a knowledge of the needs of the poor there would seem to be none better qualified to speak than Mr. James B. Reynolds, of the University Settlement Society of New York, and Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago. Both are in

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touch with that element of the population of the cities of which theoretical, and many practical, educators know so little, and both agree in regard to the necessity of placing manual training within reach of those who never get to the high schools. Mr. Reynolds has this to say on the subject:

"In regard to manual training in the public schools, I think it to be a radical defect of our school system that the rudiments of such training are not given in the primary and grammar grades. Of course, in the elementary schools no one would expect specialization, but a training in the use of the hands and the eyes and manual dexterity, such as is secured by the Sloyd system of training in Sweden, in my opinion, should be found in all our elementary schools. More than fifty per cent. of the boys in our public schools must earn their living by their hands, and yet the education in nearly all parts of the country is planned, if it has any particular value at all, to prepare one for a literary career. I use literary, of course, not in the technical sense, but to cover business and the professions. Education should not aim merely to develop the mind, but to fit boys and girls for life, and as life means work they should be prepared for work. Our public education is much too scholastic and needs to be thoroughly revolutionized."

The views of Miss Addams are well set forth in an address that she delivered before the National Educational Association in Milwaukee in July, 1897. In this she speaks particularly of the foreign element in our population—an element that has to be considered and that is responsible for many serious educational problems—and discusses it as follows:

"Let us take one of these boys, who has learned in his six or eight years to speak his native language and to feel himself strongly identified with the fortunes of his family. Whatever interest has come to the minds of his ancestors has come through the use of their hands in the open air; and open air and activity have been the invariable accompaniments of all their experience. Yet the first thing that the boy must do when he reaches school is to sit still, at least part of the time, and he must listen to what is said to him with all the perplexity of listening to a foreign tongue. He does not find this very stimulating, and is slow to respond to the more subtle incentives of the schoolroom. The peasant child is perfectly indifferent to showing off and making a good recitation. He leaves that to his schoolfellows, who are more sophisticated and who are equipped with better English. * * * If that little Italian lad were supplied then and there with tangible and resistance-offering material upon which to exercise his muscle he would go bravely to work, and he would probably be ready later to use the symbols of letters and numbers to record and describe what he had done; and might even be incited to the exertion of reading to find out what other people had done."

There could be no better argument than this for the point I wish to make. There could be no better description of what manual training ought to do in the lower grades. It should not be put there solely for the purpose of teaching the child how to make a wooden box or how to handle a plane. This is incidental

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merely. It should be put there as part of a general plan of education; to interest the boy and hold him in school as long as possible, and to see that, whenever he may have to leave, he has the best equipment for the battle of life that is possible in view of the time limitations. The lower grades now prepare him for the upper grades, but that is practically all. The system is planned with a view to the future of the child who completes the full course, but with no thought of the one who does not.

Continuing, Miss Addams shows in her valuable paper how many a boy "not of criminal descent nor of vagrant parentage" goes to the bad because school life, as it is unfolded to him, repels rather than attracts, and never under any circumstances succeeds in arousing the slightest interest. And, speaking of the boy who goes from the school to the factory upon reaching the factory age, she pertinently asks: "Has anything been done up to this time to give him a consciousness of his social value? Has the outcome of the processes to which he has been subjected adapted him to deal more effectively and in a more vital manner with his present life?" She answers that it has not. "He finds himself in the drudgery of a factory, senselessly manipulating unrelated material, using his hands for unknown ends and his head not at all. Owing to the fact that, during his years in school, he has used his head mostly and his hands very little, nothing bewilders him so much as the suggestion that the school was intended as a preparation for his work in life."

To clinch these arguments, I do not think I can do better than to quote the opinions of J. F. Reigart, Superintendent of the Workingmen's School of New York, and of Gabriel Bamberger, formerly Superintendent of the New York School, and now Superintendent of the Jewish Manual Training School of Chicago. These gentlemen are qualified to speak in a dual capacity—as authorities on manual training and as earnest workers among the poor. They not only know what manual training can and ought to accomplish, but they also know what the children of the poor need and ought to have. In a recent talk with the writer, Mr. Bamberger said:

"The poor children generally leave school in the fourth and fifth grades, and consequently the manual training schools of the public school system are of absolutely no value to them. I have no criticism to make of the schools themselves. They are as good as it is possible for them to be under the circumstances, but they do not reach the people. The Chicago High

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and Manual Training School I know to be an excellent school, but only a child that has been through the grammar school and has spent one year in the high school is eligible for admission to it, and that bars, I think, all but about three or four per cent. of the children who are dependent upon the public schools for their education.

"One great disadvantage that we labor under in trying to extend manual training is the belief, which is quite general, that it is intended merely to make a boy skillful and fit him for work at a trade. That is part, but not all by any means. The method of teaching is the main thing in manual training, and a school with a workshop annexed is not necessarily a manual training school. The first principle of it is self-activity—mental and physical. The aim should be to teach the child to think in the workshop—not merely how to do a certain thing, but how to plan it in first place. It should be combined with the other branches of education and all should have it. In time all will have it. But until such time comes our aim should be to see that the poor get it. It is always within reach of the rich, if they want it. The mistake is that we begin at the top and creep down when we should begin at the bottom and climb up. Manual training cannot be begun too far down. Indeed, the kindergarten is the place to start it."

How well this fits in with what Miss Addams has said as the result of her experience among the poor; also with the views expressed by Mr. Reynolds as the result of his experience! Mr. Bamberger speaks as one who has not only worked among the poor, but who has brought manual training down to their children and has seen the results. Mr. Reigart has had similar experience, and he says:

"To my mind the chief problem in manual training is not provision for manual training high schools, but rather provision for elementary education—education for those boys who never will be able to take the high school or technical course. And even in the case of boys who do go to the advanced schools it seems to me important that they should have the elements of manual training early."

Now I come to the question, why, if all are so nearly of one mind, manual training has not been generally introduced into the lower grades of the schools, and the answer must be largely conjectural. I have heard only one argument advanced for keeping manual training in the higher grades, and that was advanced by a personal friend as a suggestion rather than an argument. It was to the following effect:

"By affording opportunity at an earlier stage of education than that of completing the grammar school for the pupil to acquire a trade or craft, will you not actually tempt him to abbreviate his education, instead of leading him to carry his preliminary training to a point of which it surely ought not to fall short?"

To this suggestion I have two answers. In the first place, I am of the opinion that the effect of taking up manual training

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earlier would be just the reverse of that suggested, as I have already explained. I think it would hold many children in school who now leave in the fourth and fifth grades. In the second place, I hold that the educational system should be planned with a view to the greatest good of the greatest number; and to show about what proportion of the students now get any good—or, to be more accurate, reach a point where it is possible for them to get any good—out of manual training as it is now placed in the public schools, I will quote some figures from the Chicago Board of Education. I am told that these figures do not vary greatly in the large cities, and I use Chicago as an illustration merely because I happen to have comparatively recent figures for that city.

On January 1, 1898, the enrollment in the first grade of the primary department of the Chicago public schools was 42,372, and in the first grade of the high schools it was 3,624. That demonstrates, with sufficient accuracy for the purposes of this article, that not quite 8½ per cent. of the children who begin their education in the lowest grade of the public schools ever reach the grade in which manual training becomes at all an important factor. When I say this, I am aware that Chicago has a manual training course in the seventh and eighth grades of the grammar schools, but it is an elective course—taught in only three or four buildings, to which such scholars as wish go once or twice a week —and does not at all answer the purpose of a manual training course, as those who believe in such a course understand it. And even in the seventh grade only about 25½ per cent. of the first grade scholars get to it, according to the figures in the monthly school report. So I maintain that, if the idea of putting manual training at the top is to hold out an inducement to children to remain in school, it has proved a miserable failure and ought to be abandoned.

Another reason advanced for the comparatively little attention paid to manual training in the lower grades is that the workingman has suffered from the "universal optimism" that prevails, and is inclined to think that his boy never will have to work with his hands to earn his living; that he will be a professional man or a merchant. There may be some truth in this, but I am more inclined to think that the workingman has been so busy earning a living for himself and his family that he has not given the mat-

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ter much attention; that he has taken for his son what was given to him (being told that it was the best there was to be had) and let it go at that. However, there are indications, as in the Detroit case I have quoted, that he is beginning to wake up to the exigencies of the situation, and the chances are that he would help rather than hinder any effort to put manual training within reach of his son. He certainly has taken very kindly to the few experiments that have been made.

Still another reason that I have heard advanced for the present condition of affairs deals entirely with the private or endowed institutions. It is asserted that, in many instances, they have not succeeded in getting in touch with their intended beneficiaries; that the men who have had the active management of some of them have been more anxious to have high grade schools that would rank with colleges or technological institutes, than to cater to the needs of those for whom the schools were intended. In support of this assertion it is pointed out that it is not an uncommon thing to find the children of the rich and the well-to-do getting into very close proximity to the slums, in order to take advantage of a school which was founded, and whose location was chosen, with a view to putting good manual education within reach of the poor; and I cannot deny that this assertion carries a good deal of weight in an argument of this description.

In any event, it seems to be very generally agreed that manual training should be put within reach of the poor; that, as matters are at present, only about 10 per cent. of the school population derive any real benefit from it; and that, as a general proposition, the other 90 per cent. stand much more in need of it. It would seem to me that Boards of Education should give their earnest attention to the matter—not as a side issue, a fad, a special study; but as a necessary and very important part of the educational system. And the man who next undertakes to endow a manual training school might "fill a long-felt want," if he would take pains to see that it is put within the reach of those who cannot pay for a course, and who have neither the time nor the inclination, owing to the necessity of earning a living, to spend eight or nine years in preparing to begin it.

ELLIOTT FLOWER.

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THE MINIMUM CAPITAL OF A NATIONAL BANK.

BY THORNTON COOKE.

THE effort to amend the National Bank Act by permitting the organization of smaller banks is an admission that, under the act as it stands, banking facilities in the less populous districts of the country are inadequate. It is a tardy recognition of a condition that has existed for thirty years. When the South began its efforts to repair the desolation of war, and the West began its splendid growth under the stimulus of railroads and free soil, they found it nearly impossible to organize national banks. The total of national bank note circulation had been limited by the National Bank Act to $300,000,000; and nearly all of it had been allotted, contrary to that act, to national banks in the Northeast. To redistribute the privileges of issuing notes was impracticable, and the efforts of Western and Southern Congressmen were directed toward removing the $300,000,000 limit. It was enlarged to $354,000,000 in 1870, and was removed altogether by a clause of the Resumption Act.

The complaint of inadequate banking facilities continued, however, and in times of financial distress became sharp. In 1893, it was voiced in leading reviews by Mr. Shearman, of New York, and by Comptroller Eckels. Its justice is recognized by the present Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gage, who stated in his report of last December that "many communities are deprived of the aid of banks of issue and burdened with onerous rates of exchange and interest charges." No time need be lost in proving a fact so generally recognized—that either the West and South have not banks enough, or that their banks are not of the right kind.

The remedy oftenest suggested for this condition is the organization of national banks with smaller capitals. The fact that no rapid growth of national banking in the West and South fol-

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lowed the repeal of the limit on the total national bank circulation, is commonly accounted for by saying that new communities cannot support the smallest national banks possible under existing law. The proposition to reduce the minimum capital required for a national bank to $25,000 gained favor rapidly, among bankers at least, in the early years of this decade. In 1895, the American Bankers' Association at its Atlanta Convention unanimously approved it. In 1896, Mr. Eckels advocated the change in his report, and, finally, Mr. Gage incorporated it in the financial measure submitted last December to the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Ordinarily, there could be no doubt of the wisdom of a plan so indorsed. It would seem, however, that the bankers, the Comptroller and the Secretary have overlooked material facts, or have not seen how to avoid the difficulties arising from them. These facts seem to discredit the adequacy of the proposed reduction as a cure for the evils complained of.

There are already more small banks in the newer sections of this country than the proposed reduction of minimum capital could place in them. They are State and private banks, too small to be strong, too weak to perform banking functions with the highest efficiency, and yet as large as local capital available for banking will permit.

Some months ago the writer was led to examine carefully the official returns of State banks in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas.* These five States form a compact group, sufficiently large and sufficiently varied to warrant inferences from studies in its statistics. Thorough study and tabulation of the returns of other States have not been possible; but the facts apparent at a glance through any bank list testify to the general validity of the inferences appearing below from the returns of the group named.

There are 1,247 State banks in the group. Of these, 116 are capitalized at $50,000 or slightly less, and 89 have larger capitals. It is astonishing to learn, however, that 785 banks, practically two-thirds of all, have capitals of not more than $20,000 each. Few have even so much as that. There are 633 banks whose capitals do not exceed $15,000, there are 451 that have no more than $10,000 and 112 have each $5,000 or less. Of the 785 banks of

* The tables then prepared may be found in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for October, 1897.

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which $20,000 is the maximum capital, no less than 653 are located in towns of not more than 1,000 population.

It is not to be supposed that many of these small State banks in small towns would increase their capitals to $25,000 to become national banks, although it is conceivable that the few $20,000 banks might do so. In a few cases, the prestige of "National" in a bank's title might bring enough new business to offset increased taxation. Owing, however, to the larger proportionate amount of additional capital required, a sufficient number of the smaller banks would not follow the exampl. to affect the situation appreciably, even if the circulation feature of national banks were made more attractive by permission to issue notes to the par value of bonds deposited for their redemption.

The returns of the 380 private banks in this group are not capable of accurate analysis. Many exaggerate capital to attract business. Many conceal capital to avoid the high taxation of Western boom towns. In other cases, not all of which is really the capital of a bank is ordinarily employed in it. The whole capital becomes apparent only in crises, when the proprietor throws into the bank, to strengthen it, funds usually invested elsewhere. It cannot be known that computations from the private bank returns would be trustworthy; and they will not be given here. It should be said, however, that if they were used they would support the conclusion reached from consideration of State bank returns. The reduction of the minimum capital of national banks to $25,000 would have almost no effect in extending banking facilities in new communities.

To fix the minimum at one-half its present amount would place a premium on the reduction of capital. There are many $50,000 national banks that will reduce their capitals one-half if Mr. Gage's bill is enacted. They will have to call in loans to do this, but their deposits will not be materially affected. The percentage of profit on the remaining capital will naturally increase, especially as the decrease in the supply of loanable funds will permit some advance of interest rates. A greater incentive to such reduction in the West, however, will be the desire to escape taxation, which in Western towns is very high because of the bonded indebtedness incurred ten years ago on the exaggerated property valuations of that time.

At the last meeting of the Kansas Bankers' Association the

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suggestion was made that the minimum ought to be reduced to $10,000. It is evident from the figures given above that $10,000 banks are within the reach of small towns. Probably national banks of that size would be generally organized in the West and South. But the force of the chief objection hitherto raised against the reduction to $25,000, that it would impair the safety of the national system, so obviously increases with the amount of reduction proposed that the minimum will hardly be set at one-fifth of what it is now.

Such a great reduction of the minimum is therefore impracticable, and it appears that more conservative legislation authorizing national banks with capitals of $25,000 would be followed by an immediate reduction of banking capital, hardly offset by the few new banks organized, or by the slightly increased capital of existing banks that would become national banks. Our newer communities would have still to depend upon State and private banks, too few in number, too small in capital, to inspire confidence, and in most States without efficient supervision to prevent mismanagement. It is evident, therefore, that the remedy proposed is inadequate for the correction of the evil.

Yet the need of good small banks exists and hampers the economic development of the nation. Is it not to be met by increasing minimum capital instead of diminishing it, and by permitting strong banks to establish branches? The system of branch banks is, of course, familiar. It existed long in this country, and since the general revival of interest in public finance its operations in Europe and Canada have been frequently explained. Only its perfect adaptability to the wants of our West and South need here be stated.

It goes without saying that only strong banks, banks with large capitals, will be permitted to establish branches. A strong bank could maintain a branch wherever there was business enough to pay the salary of one man. Little State banks are frequently manned by the cashier alone, who is also bookkeeper and discount board, and is, moreover, without the advice and assistance that the head office would give to a branch manager. Branches would profit by little economies impossible in small independent banks. The expense of stationery, furniture, collection charges and express rates would be materially reduced through the head office. Deposits might be expected to increase

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greatly. Knowing that the resources of the entire bank would be at the command of the branch in time of danger, timid people would deposit savings that now repose in hidden stockings and buried chests. Thus the ideal efficiency of a banking system—the thorough collection of the savings of a people for use in business—would be realized.

It is argued sometimes that the adoption of the branch system would diminish the whole capital employed in banks. Yet, if this were true, business would not be unfavorably affected. The reduction would come healthily, if it came at all, from the growth of the depositing habit and from the more economical distribution and use of banking capital. The probability is, however, that increased deposits would induce the establishment of new banks and branches, instead of the withdrawal of capital from banking.

The profit of branch banks in foreign countries results largely from their circulating the notes of the parent banks. In this country, too, the highest efficiency of the branch system will be reached with authority to issue circulating notes based upon bank assets. No other system of note issues is elastic; no other is cheap enough to permit the establishment of profitable branches in small villages. Bank notes issued against assets are, in effect, deposits. A branch manager will not have to wait for profits until people bring him their own money to loan. He can begin to lend notes, which is practically to lend deposits, the day he opens his office.

Illustrations of the desirability of elastic bank note issues are commonly drawn from the movement of crops. The illustrations here to be given are based also upon the revived cattle trade of the States whose bank returns have been discussed above.

After moving toward the frontier in the eighties, cattle are coming back to Kansas, Missouri and the States north of them. Spring and fall the railroads are busy hauling them in from Texas, Colorado, and even from Montana. It is cheaper to bring the cattle to the feed than to send feed to the cattle. A very large proportion of these imported cattle, as well as of the "native" cattle raised in these States, are sold in small bunches on credit, notes being taken, to mature at the end of the feeding or grazing period. This cattle paper, as it is technically known, is made in such quantity that it is beyond the capacity of the local

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banks to handle it all. Yet it is the local banks which alone are thoroughly acquainted with the makers.

The revival of the cattle trade in the Missouri valley makes it once more true that every Western State, like every Southern State, has a diversified industry. Suppose each State well supplied with banks on the branch system, issuing currency when needed upon the security of their own assets. In the late summer, exchanges in the grain-raising districts of the Western States increase. Branches in these localities would lend a good deal of money to pay for extra help at harvest time, to pay threshing bills and to enable farmers to wait for prices of grains to rise. Under the present system this money comes from the East, and its movement causes appreciable stringency there. Under the system supposed, it would be furnished by the local banks, in the form of bank notes.

Early in the autumn, other farmers in each State require funds to buy cattle—either "stockers" to be fed through the winter on sorghum-cane, corn-stalks, millet-hay or Kafir corn; or "feeders" to be fattened on Indian corn or cotton-seed. The independent local banks soon exhaust their own funds. The need for more is clumsily met by rediscounting cattle paper with banks in large Western cities, and the city banks in turn are usually forced to borrow in the East. Still, the demand is not met; and the natural customers of local banks find it necessary to borrow from live stock commission merchants at the great cattle markets. If the supposed banking system existed, however, all cattle paper could be handled by the local banks, whose intimate knowledge of local conditions and borrowers would enable them to handle the paper safely. There would simply be a moderate issue of notes, and a great transfer of funds from branches in the grain districts, where most of the crop is moved by this time, and where deposits are pouring in.

After Christmas, the demand for cattle money is more than met through the payments of notes secured by mortgages on the fattened cattle that are going to market. Funds from this source would be distributed under the branch system to aid in beginning farm operations in the spring. Pastured cattle are ready for market, if at all, before the grain crop begins to move rapidly. The grain districts would receive help at this time, and the circuit would be complete.

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As many illustrations of the operation of the branch-and-issue system of banking could be given as there are States in the West and South. Each State of these sections is so large and so varied that transfers between branch banks would take place everywhere, although each parent bank were permitted to establish branches in its own State alone. Professor Dunbar believes that permission should be so qualified. Mr. Eckels would allow branches only in towns of 1,000 population or less. Some Western country bankers maintain that branches should be established only within a comparatively short distance of the parent bank. This last restriction, however, would interfere with the peculiar usefulness of the branch system, and Mr. Eckels' limitation would keep strong banks out of considerable towns, while allowing them in hamlets. These objections do not apply to Professor Dunbar's suggestion, and it should be provisionally adopted. Jealousy of the "Money Power" is intense, and it is well to allay the fear that Eastern financiers might organize an effective banking trust. It may be hoped that after a trial of the branch system, with no bank operating in more than one state, the permission to establish branches may be extended.

A great economic gain would appear from the first, however, and it would involve a political gain. The farmer who sees money rates tightening unreasonably just when he wants to buy cattle or to move his crops, and who knows that the interior cities where his banker rediscounts are but secondary money centers supplied by the East, lends willing ear to vituperation against Wall Street. If, instead of currency shipped from New York, the farmer could handle good bank notes issued at some nearby village branch, he would overcome his dangerous jealousy of the East, and would cease to prescribe free silver where only adequate banking is needed. It would then be safe to let strong banks cross State lines.

The necessary conclusion from the present inquiry is that the minimum capital line should not be lowered, but raised. Each of the strong banks thus to be secured should be permitted to establish branches in the State where its head office is located. With this permission must go authority to issue notes based upon assets. Several plans for making such note issues safe are familiar.

The changes outlined would improve the national banking

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system even in the States where it is now strongest; for in their rural districts is felt, though less acutely, the same need of small banks that exists in new communities. The modifications would also permit the general introduction of the system in the West and South, and its operations would then aid in the economic development of those sections, would go far to remove present sectional distrust, and would stamp out cheap money heresies.

THORNTON COOKE.

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LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE.

BY WALTER B. SCAIFE.

FRANCE being the only great European republic, its quadrennial election of its Chamber of Deputies can scarcely fail to interest Americans. That is in France the only national function of universal suffrage, as both the Senate and President are otherwise selected. In choosing his candidate, the French voter is placed in a much more difficult position than his American confrère. First, he has the embarrassment of more complicated sentiments and desires seeking political satisfaction; and, secondly, he has to select from a greater number of candidates, who represent as many shades of opinion, rather than two or three clearly defined policies. With an ardent desire for liberty, Frenchmen combine a strong hereditary instinct for a paternal government; they have established a republican form of legislation, while retaining a monarchical form of administration; they condemn monarchical extravagance and indulge in republican prodigality; and, instead of developing a self-government based on individual initiative and effort, they appear to cultivate more and more dependence upon the state. Under such circumstances, the voter's duty is plain, to weigh carefully and judge conscientiously among the numerous candidates and platforms offered to his choice. But, perhaps owing to the very difficulty and effort of choosing, the indifference manifested is great, and the proportion of non-voters disheartening, having reached almost thirty-three per cent. of those registered.

Before entering upon the details of the recent campaign and election, it may be well to recall a few general facts, a knowledge of which is necessary to the understanding of what is to follow. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 581 members, each elected by a *circonscription* or district. However, neither law nor custom

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requires the deputy to be a resident of the district which he represents. Primaries and nominating conventions are equally unknown; as, practically, any voter of twenty-five years of age may nominate himself, simply by depositing with the proper authority, not less than five days before the date of election, a "duly legalized declaration" to that effect. Shortly before the election, every voter receives from the Government a "voter's ticket," containing his name, address and number in the public register, which ticket serves to identify him at the polls. In view of the simple method of nomination, the number of candidates easily becomes excessive, and the obtaining of an absolute majority vote impossible. Accordingly, two voting days are provided. If, on the first day, one of the candidates receives a majority of all votes cast, which at the same time is not less than one-fourth of the number of registered voters, the election is final. Otherwise, a second election, called *ballottage,* takes place two weeks later, on which occasion a plurality vote suffices.

As everybody is free to nominate himself, the list of more than 2,000 candidates includes men of every description—prince and peasant, millionaire and proletaire, employer and employed, doctor and lawyer, soldier and civilian; and a statistician of the curious reports among the candidates 17 hunchbacks, 3 one-armed men, 1 without legs, 94 lame, 12 stammerers, 6 deaf, 2 blind, 3 paralytic, 1 dwarf and 2 giants. Instead of party platforms, each candidate publishes his own "profession of faith," with the to us astonishing result that perhaps no two of them are identical. The variety of aims and promises exhibited by these documents seems to include every possible governmental policy, from an imperial *coup-d'etat* to armed revolution, from monarchical monopoly to universal confiscation, from clerical absolutism to nihilistic anarchy. Furthermore, there is not wanting a certain ambiguity, not to say jugglery of words, in these candidatorial enunciations, and one writer at least contends that equivocation was the characteristic of the campaign. "Republican" has lost all definite signification, and is employed by men representing most diverse views of public policy; while "patriot" is equally appropriated as party watchword by monarchists and socialists. One of the former declares in his platform that France "is dying because of desertion of her traditions, and that the elective *régime* is killing her as it killed Poland." On the other

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hand, the socialists contend that the only national balm is to be found in their doctrines.

One of the strangest phenomena of the recent campaign is the active part officially taken by the Roman Catholic Church. It had its candidates, its official organs, its professions of faith, its campaign fund, and its cheers of victory, like the other party organizations; and was especially directed against "the Jews and the Freemasons, these public poisoners." In its principal organ, *La Croix*, was published a list of contributions to its campaign fund, which reached the respectable sum of 165,000 francs; and this does not include the large sums said to have been personally expended by the rich and titled candidates of the Church. Even political sermons are alleged to have been preached from the pulpits, and the political posters of M. Turrel, Minister of Public Works, posted inside, as well as outside, the churches. Special prayers were offered, and special fasts and communions recommended to the faithful for the success of the cause; and I read in *La Croix* of May 26: "St. Michael and Joan of Arc have completed their work in our department and driven out all the radical and Freemason schismatics."

Another fact of the political struggle here strikes an American with peculiar force, and evokes surprise, not to say astonishment. We are accustomed to the sight of Masonic badges worn by thousands of men; Masonic funerals hardly awaken curiosity; and the triennial conclaves of the Knights Templar are welcomed by every city, without our ever associating the ideas of Masonry and politics. But here in France the stranger is not shown a Masonic temple as one of the architectural ornaments of the city, nor do I recall ever having observed a man wearing a Masonic badge. Moreover, there is no political party avowedly Masonic; and all that one learns of the order is from its enemies, who call the Masons the party of the "little chapel," in contradistinction to their own great cathedral. Yet the Masons are the constant object of attack, in the political articles of the monarchical and clerical press.

The programmes of all parties promised more or less extensive legislation tending to improve the lot of the masses, whose votes are necessary to election. It resembles an auction sale, where the bidding ran high, with this difference, however, that many of the bids were not taken seriously. Naturally, the socialists were the

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most ardent in this movement, and their professions of faith advocated such extreme measures as repudiation of the national debt, government ownership of all natural monopolies, and the abolition of all taxes, to be replaced by a single progressive income tax, from which incomes of less than 2,500 or 3,000 francs were to be exempt. They, furthermore, demand pensions for old and disabled laborers; and the revision of the constitution in such form as either to suppress the Senate, or to have it elected by popular suffrage, or at least to subordinate it to the Chamber of Deputies.

The first ballot, that of May 8, having resulted in the election of 401 deputies, there remained 180 seats to be filled by the *ballottage*, with two weeks for the campaign. Now appears what, in the French practice, most nearly approaches party discipline. Every candidate leans either toward the Right or the Left in politics; that is, his sympathies are more or less conservative or radical, clerical or socialistic. The first election, having failed to give a majority vote to any one candidate, has nevertheless designated the respective favorites of the Right and Left, and, either by previous arrangement or by the force of public opinion, the other candidates are expected to withdraw from the *ballottage*, and to recommend their former supporters to vote for the candidate least inimical to their views. During this period of two weeks, the political fight waxes hotter and hotter, candidates and voters alike realizing that final victory or defeat for four years to come is at hand. If the voter cannot be represented precisely as he wishes, he will accept the best he can get, rather than let a man still farther from his views represent his district. This final party manœuvering explains a number of the late elections, which otherwise would be incomprehensible. Though a monarchical party still exists, it is no longer considered dangerous. But, on the other hand, the open entrance of the Catholic Church on the political arena has aroused its opponents to shout "clerical danger!" while the steady growth of the socialistic party has excited a real fear of collectivism. One of the telling campaign documents was a map of France showing the increase of the real estate holdings of religious congregations, from 800 million francs in 1881 to 2,000 millions in 1898; and affirming that their aggregate wealth reaches 10,000 millions. Hence, the non-clerical voters were called upon to oppose the Catholic party, and the state to con-

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fiscate this wealth. On the other hand, the Catholic party demands that all the faithful vote for its candidates, who will work for the abolition of the laws governing education and religion, in order to remove all restraint on the activity and ambition of the Church. Accordingly, the liberals joined forces with the socialists, to resist the clericals; the conservatives went to their natural allies, in fear of the extreme socialist; and "clerical danger!" and "collectivist danger!" became the rallying cries around the respective standards, for the final election, May 22. Under such circumstances it may be easily understood how, for example, in a district where nearly every family possesses a patch of ground, a socialist was nevertheless elected by an overwhelming majority; and how, by contrast, some former socialistic strongholds were captured by clerical sympathizers, if not by extreme clerical candidates.

Aroused by Zola's attack on the army, another element appeared more strongly than hitherto, occasioned some hot disputes, and caused a number of candidates to assume the designation of Anti-Jews and Nationalists, who on May 8 drew out a vote of 233,000, or about three per cent. of the whole number of votes. The movement was especially strong in Algeria, where the Jews are numerous and where usury is said to reach the seemingly impossible figure of one hundred per cent. per month !

To an American observer, perhaps the strangest characteristic of the short campaign is its exclusively personal character. For, though each candidate has his committee to attend to printing, collecting campaign funds and organizing meetings, it is the candidate himself who is expected to do practically all the public speaking and writing of his own campaign. And M. Goblet having accepted the aid and support of some prominent party leaders, it was considered a grave political error, and is said to have added votes to the majority of his opponent. Not only must the candidate "develop his programme," *i. e.*, explain in detail his profession of faith, by a public talk in every hamlet and corner of his district, and promise to secure unlimited local and personal favors from the central government, but he must drink with the men and pay their drinks, flatter the women and kiss the babies. One man, called the Automobile Candidate, is reported to have addressed 106 reunions in ten days. The café is recognized "as both the club and parlor of the workingman," and the saloons as

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"political and professional centres—centres which the candidate will assiduously frequent." Here are held many of the campaign reunions, of which often only friends of the candidate are apprised, in order that the meeting may pass off quietly, and the candidate appear to have the unanimous support of the neighborhood, if not of the entire district. However, opposing candidates sometimes conduct a canvass of public debate; but experience proves the danger of such meetings ending in noisy confusion, if not in violence.

There remains perhaps the greatest of French methods of political propaganda—the poster. During the campaign, electoral placards are free of taxation, and the country is literally covered with posters, large and small and of many colors, with their manner of expression as varied as their character. While some are dignified appeals to reason and patriotism, others are farcical, and a few decidedly vulgar, although these last are not by any means confined to one party.

It is generally agreed that the French nation is advancing in its political education; and the republic seems to be an established fact, notwithstanding almost universal criticism, if not active discontent, in regard to it. However, family position and personal influence still count as moving factors in an election, and accusations of government pressure and the use of money are loud and numerous. But the recent campaign was, in fact, more a contest of principles and less a struggle of men for popular favor than its predecessors; and, with all its imperfections, it was, on the whole, conducted in a peaceable and businesslike manner. Hence, we may conclude that the people at large have shown themselves capable of self-government, based on self-restraint and the orderly expression of their political convictions. Whether the representatives they have chosen will prove themselves worthy and capable is an entirely different matter.

On election day the polls are open from eight in the morning till six in the evening; but, contrary to our system, the voting must take place in a room where the ballot box is on a table, round which it is possible for the public to circulate. The superintendence of the voting is in the hands of an electoral commission, in which the government and the various candidates are represented, and which is provided with a numbered list of the voters residing in the precinct. The voter presents his voter's card; his

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number and name are read aloud and marked off on the list, and a corner is torn off the card to show that it has been used. His folded ballot is received by the president of the commission and deposited by him, without marking or examination, in the ballot box. As to the ballots, they must be white, and free from all distinguishing marks on the part visible when folded; otherwise, they may be either printed or written, and of any reasonable form and size.

At six o'clock the polls are declared closed, the double-locked ballot box opened in the presence of the public, and the ballots counted out, without examination, into large envelopes, one hundred to each, except the last. These envelopes, sealed, are then distributed to several tables, occupied by representatives of the different parties, who have been invited by the president of the electoral commission to assist in the counting, and have been provided with forms for recording the result. The counting is proceeded with at once; and blank, null and disputed ballots returned in a sealed envelope for final decision by governmental authority. From each table the partial count is reported to the commission, who then make up the vote of the precinct, which is declared to the waiting public and transmitted to the prefecture for revision four days later.

Among the surprises of the late election were the defeat of Jaurès, Guesde and Goblet, all recognized leaders of ability on the Left; the Government loss of Delpench, an assistant secretary, and André Lebou, the talented Minister of Colonies, and the conservative loss of Rochefoucould, who has sat for many years among the deputies. All parties had individual gains, as well as losses, but the only party which really gained ground was the socialist. However, to a foreign observer, perhaps the greatest cause of surprise is that a thinker and writer of international reputation, like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, should receive only 2,082 votes, and be distanced by a socialist with more than a thousand majority. What better illustration could be had of the fact that the people demand a representative who will voice their sentiments and vote as their delegate, rather than a representative who will think for them?

A curious fact is revealed by a study of this campaign and election—that, although the entire country expressed discontent with the present order of things at the opening of the campaign, the election did not create a Chamber essentially different

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from its predecessor, which was admitted on all sides to be defective in many desirable qualities. More than two thousand years ago, Aristotle taught that democracy is necessarily a government of mediocrity; and modern politics constantly prove the accuracy of his judgment. How can it be expected that a government by the masses will rise to the intelligence of the few? A government of the masses certainly aims at the greatest good of the greatest number, for they are the greatest number. But this desideratum of modern state life is only reached in a roundabout fashion, *i. e.*, by the interaction of a large number of mediocre representatives instead of the directing intelligence of one or more great specialists. The latter form is no doubt capable of the highest development, but history has shown the almost unavoidable pitfalls to which it is subject; and, accordingly, modern tendency is toward a government by the people, which may not manifest the highest intelligence; but, on the other hand, will gradually elevate the intelligence and well-being of the masses, as none of the old systems has ever done. At least, such is the hope of all friends of republican rule; and it remains for the United States and France to prove to a skeptical world the possibilities of such a form of government.

WALTER B. SCAIFE.

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PILIKIAS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL L. A. BEARDSLEE, U. S. N., RETIRED.

THE title is an Hawaiian word, a very expressive and comprehensive one. Its meaning is troubles—troubles of all degrees, big and little, short and lasting. Has death taken from a man a loved one, or has a man simply met with slight misfortune; in either case he "has a *pilikia.*" As pilikias need be neither great nor lasting, the term seems a suitable one to characterize the various impediments and obstacles which must be encountered and overcome by the United States in its process of assimilating into orthodox citizenship, in which we shall govern them by and with their own consent, the heterogeneous lot of new relations that we have acquired by our annexation of the Hawaiian Republic.

This Republic was one in which magnificent distances prevailed. Its people were and are scattered over eight islands, widely separated by deep and frequently rough channels, crossed by no cable, and communication between them is difficult. These people, according to the latest census—that of 1896—number 109,000, racially grouped as follows:

Natives	31,000	Chinese	21,600
Half-breeds	8,500	English	2,250
Japanese	24,000	Germans	1,430
Portuguese	15,000	Other nations	1,500

And of Americans but 3,086.

The numbers, especially of the Japanese, have undoubtedly increased largely since the census was made.

It will be quite a difficult matter to harmonize these varying elements of population. Fortunately, in regard to a very large proportion, it will not be necessary to do so. It is probable that a great alteration in the status of the Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese will not be attempted. The Japanese and Chi-

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nese are scattered over all of the islands, working the sugar cane. They will remain subjects of their own governments, act as those governments indicate through their diplomatic representatives, and questions that may arise in regard to their status will be settled between their countries and ours, by diplomacy. There is little fear of a combination between them. They are antagonistic to each other. In Honolulu a few of the better class of Japanese are lawyers, physicians, teachers, editors, printers, merchants and artificers.

The greater proportion of the Portuguese have colonized in Honolulu, selecting high and almost useless land, on the approach to Punch Bowl and the mountains. They now own many cozy cottages, covered with flowers and vines, a church and schools, and they have nearly monopolized certain branches of agriculture. They supply all Honolulu with flowers. Their interests are cared for by a diplomatic agent, and there is no fear of their joining forces with the Japanese and Chinamen.

Eliminating these three races, which I have grouped together on account of their numerical preponderance, we have but 56,000 people to manage. A further elimination of the 3,000 Americans reduces the number to less than half of the actual population of the islands. We have remaining but 53,000 possible citizens.

But of the Americans, English, Germans and other nations—8,200 in all—quite a number must be classed with the half-breeds, for they are the husbands of the half-breed women, the fathers of their children, and thus subject to their influence. Allowing, therefore, for two years' natural increase and for this addition, the half-breeds may be considered as being at least ten thousand strong.

It should be said that, except as quoting from an official document, the term "half-breed" should not be used. There are half-breeds, referred to as such, but they are of the lower class, crosses between Asiatics, South Sea Islanders, and other disreputables, and Kanaka women of low degree.

The race in regard to which it is proposed to give some facts, call themselves, and are so called by those who respect them, *half-whites*, in which term the word "half" has lost its numerical significance and might better be rendered *part*. Half-breed is an offensive term, half-white is not.

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It is probable that a large proportion of the English, German and other nations will remain true to their own countries and that they will, as in our other cities, be simply foreigners living with us, obedient to our laws, but not claiming citizenship.

With these eliminations accomplished, we have but about 40,000 people, from whom pilikias may be expected, and that is about the number of natives and half-breeds. If we can obtain their consent to be governed by us, the problem is solved, and the principles announced in our Declaration of Independence maintained.

That we have not obtained the full and free consent of these people seems to be a fact. Circumstances which occurred on and before Annexation Day, the twelfth of last August, indicate this very strongly. A short time before, protests against annexation had been filed with both governments, by political societies. On the day when annexation was consummated, of the great number of the best of Honolulu people who, through social or official standing, were entitled to places on the great platform built on the steps of the executive building—formerly the palace of Hawaii's monarchs—to witness and participate in the ceremonies, but one of the three principal classes into which Honolulu people are divided was present in any force, those, namely, who affiliated with or supported the party of which the government was formed. The other parties, the natives and half-whites, and the Royalists, took no part, and among them were people whose official and social standing are such that their absence could not have been the result of accident. There were at the time in Honolulu the ex-Queen Liliuokalani, the ex-Dowager Queen Kapiolani, the ex-Princess Kaiulani, and in the list I have before me as I write, I cannot find their names nor the name of any of the prominent Royalists, nor of a Hawaiian not attached to the government.

The band of Hawaiian damsels who were to have lowered for the last time the Hawaiian flag, as the government band played for the last time officially the Hawaiian *ponoi*, would not lower it. The band refused to play the *ponoi*, and loud weeping was the only music contributed by the natives. Very evidently, there was discord, and, as evidently, the breach which had been made by the events of 1893 was not yet healed, the opposing factions into which the Hawaiian people had then been

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split had not coalesced. Beyond question, a large body of those who were to be governed did not consent to the new governmet.

Undoubtedly, there were many different reasons for this unhappy state of affairs. The object of this paper is to point out and discuss one of these reasons; others may be touched upon incidentally.

The Hawaiian loves and hates strongly. He loves his country, his monarchy, the throne, and him or her who occupies it. Whatever may be the sovereign's character, he is loyal to his monarch. They loved and were loyal to their late queen, whom, whatever may have been charged against her as faults, or even crimes, they considered a good woman and a good queen, for she was intelligent, queenly, dignified and charitable. They did not believe that she had committed any wrong. To them, even if admitted, the faults charged were venial, even virtues. There was a universal feeling that when she was dethroned she was wronged, and throughout the land prayers to the true God, and to the false gods, were offered for her restoration.

A vast majority of the half-whites shared the views of their Hawaiian relatives. Many of them were in sympathy with those who attempted by revolution to restore the queen. Some joined those in revolt, and quite a number contributed funds. Clearly all of the natives, including the half-whites, were firmly convinced that their government had been taken away from them by violence without cause, and most of them think so to this day.

I have just received a letter from an educated Hawaiian lady, a teacher, a member of one of the few native families who gave their allegiance to the Provisional Government. She writes under date of August 19 from Maui: "Well, our islands are annexed; but the bitter feelings of the Hawaiians are still the same, and they still hope for the queen to be back on the throne. I feel very bad for them, but there is no way of giving them a plain explanation."

In addition to the reasons which they share with the natives, the half-whites, especially the ladies of the upper class, have a reason peculiarly their own which actuates them strongly in their opposition to annexation and which, although based on hypothesis alone, has strength. This is the apprehension that when, as a result of annexation, there is an influx of American

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people, society will be first disorganized, and in its reorganization they will suffer the loss of social position; that, for the first time in Hawaii, they may be discriminated against on account of race and customs; that, for the first time, a color line may be drawn, so that the brown blood in their veins, of which many are prouder than of the white, will be to their detriment.

To appreciate the force of this apprehension, one must have lived in Honolulu; have seen how completely life is occupied by social functions—balls, dinner parties, swimming and boating parties, picnics and luahs; one must have known, through personal experience, the high position in society held by half-white families; one must have met and enjoyed meeting them on terms of perfect social equality; one must have entertained, and been entertained by, educated and refined people in whose veins the brown blood prevailed.

I can see no reason why they should be less proud of their brown blood than of the white. Many of the mothers of the present generation were daughters of chiefs, noblemen, and even, in some cases, of royalty. Their white blood started with the unknown sailor who, tiring of the dull life of the whale-ship, enchanted by his surroundings in Hawaii, and by the charms of the Kanaka girls, married one of them, and sought a life of ease and pleasure among them; begot children, and thus started a new race, the daughters of which, more comely than their pure native relations, have been sought as wives by other white men arriving later as teachers, or on business or in search of health.

The children of these couples have, in all cases, received the education furnished by the schools and colleges of the island, and they are good ones; while, in some cases, they have been sent to the United States or Europe, from which they have returned educated and cultured. Some of the fathers have grown into power. They have been sought as advisers by the native monarchs, and since a constitution and legislature came into being they have taken their part in the government. Not infrequently, the wives brought with them fortunes in the shape of many acres of land, the value of which, though trifling at first, increased an hundredfold after the discovery that the soil was well adapted for the cultivation of sugar cane, and artesian wells had disclosed the fact that, but a few hundred feet below the

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surface, an abundant and apparently inexhaustible supply of fresh water suitable for irrigation could be had.

To these men the preservation of the monarchy insured success, its destruction involved risk of loss. They were not numerically strong, but, through marriage to native or half-white, they had acquired great influence, and they more or less openly declared themselves Royalists.

On the other hand, there was an almost equally small, but a much more powerful, body of men—the Americans—who, although in comparatively few cases natives of the United States, were very loyal to the country and flag of their fathers. They were the sons and daughters of the American men and women who came to the islands in the early days, not sixty years ago, as missionaries to teach and Christianize the natives, and guide and help them in emerging from barbarism. These descendants have remained in the islands, and, while loyal to their fathers' flag, as attested by a flourishing branch of the Society of Sons of the American Revolution existing at the islands, were equally loyal to the work of civilizing which their fathers had started. They built schools and churches, and as a result the Hawaiian people are a civilized race and largely Christians. They have won the love of the natives by their good offices, their respect and confidence by the honesty and cleanness of their lives. To them, also, fell the duties of advisers to the monarchs. They held unbounded influence over the natives until, a few years ago, for reasons which few of the natives can or will comprehend, they became identified with those who dethroned the queen, and out of their number the Provisional Government was constructed.

Said Liliuokalani last winter in Washington to a friend of mine: "I cannot understand why those missionary boys, Sanford Dole, Albert Judd and Sam Damon, who were my playmates and grew up with me, should have taken my country from me."

However much the act complained of was necessary and proper, it is Liliuokalani who has the ear and love of her countrymen, the sympathy and confidence of 40,000 natives of Hawaii, and it is to her voice alone they will listen. They do not understand what has taken place, and they will never understand it without her aid. Could she but be brought to accept the situation, could she but learn that her personal loss is her country's gain; could she be persuaded that in taking Hawaii the

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United States has conferred great honor and benefit upon her people, she, with a letter "To my People," could solve the problem. Every Hawaiian would think it a letter to himself personally, and in loyalty he would obey. Then that pilikia would be *pau* (finished).

One of the sources of apprehension of the half-whites, is a fear that certain of their customs would not be approved of by ladies from another country. Undoubtedly they have customs, natural to them, to which they have been wedded from childhood, and which are different from those of people who have spent their lives in more inclement climes. But in these customs, peculiar to themselves, there is no wrong, only a difference due to their early training.

They do wear in public the *holoku*, a garment not differing greatly from a Mother Hubbard, the most comfortable and best adapted to the climate. They do adorn themselves with *leis* of flowers, they gallop astride their steeds over the mountains, they enjoy surf canoeing and sea swimming. They do love to relax from their formal society life and full dress dinner parties, and, visiting the homes of some of their Hawaiian relatives, they indulge in the delights of a *luah*, where they can—arrayed in *holokus* and flowers, hair unbound, feet bare or slippered—recline on the mat-protected ground, eat *poi* seaweed and fish, and other indescribable Hawaiian dishes, with the aid of their fingers alone, listen to the sweet music of the *eukalili* and native voices, and watch the beautiful, graceful, swaying dance of the *Hulah* girls, in which there need be no impropriety or vulgarity, although, because in olden times it was danced by naked women (in those days they were naked and not ashamed), it has earned a bad reputation. "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*"

Said a Hawaiian lady to me, while discussing with her the expected advent of the whites: "We don't want them. They will come and look down on us, and think we are no better than niggers. They will sneer at our customs, and hold up their hands in horror at the idea of a *hulah*. They will expect too much of us. They will forget how short a time it is since we were Kanakas, and how vain it is to expect us to utterly forget and throw over the habits of our childhood. My father was a Kanaka, and my mother was a Kanaka, and I sometimes wish I had stayed one in everything, as I am in blood. They lived until I was a young woman,

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and do you think that, when I got leave from school to go and spend a few days with them, I went in my school dress and carried my school manners, to shame my relations? No; I lived as they did, and was as good a Kanaka as any of them. And when they prayed to Pele, or other of the gods I had been taught were false, do you suppose I lectured them and put shame on them? No, indeed!"

In that rather excited speech there stands out at least one good point. We expect too much of them when we attempt to judge how good citizens they may become, when time shall have carried them further from their ancestors. If it takes a third generation to develop a gentleman from a peasant, we should not expect that in the second generation a Kanaka will be so greatly transformed as to become a first-class American citizen, although many of them have qualified. Why should we expect that of them more than of a large proportion of our immigrants from Europe?

The first and most important step to that end will be to win their confidence and regard. That step cannot be taken while their sovereign, still in their hearts, is in their opinion a wronged woman, a martyr. If our government could but throw completely aside the feelings which circumstances produced and justified in the small body of good men who constituted first the Provisional Government, then the Republic of Hawaii, as against the queen they have dethroned, and treat her and those who supported her, as the representatives of over 40,000 people, with justice, kindness and consideration, and, recognizing the fact, that the loss of the throne meant to the queen great pecuniary loss also, would, as far as justice demanded, recompense her for her loss, the *pilikia* would be forever ended. *Pau Aloha.*

L. A. BEARDSLEE,

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BISMARCK AND MOTLEY.—WITH CORRESPONDENCE TILL NOW UNPUBLISHED.—II.

BY JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

To the question "Do the Americans know what they are fighting for?" Motley made in his next letter an eloquent response; in which he gives in burning words the reasons that induced the men of the North to take up arms—"To preserve the existence of a magnificent commonwealth traitors are trying to destroy. If men cannot fight in such a cause they had better stop fighting for evermore." He evidently suspects that the warmth of his feelings has led him into some exaggeration of expression this hard, practical German, never sentimental when national interests are concerned, though he can be very tender at other times, will instantly pounce upon. So he says that possibly he "had better throw his letter into the fire."

Motley defends himself against the charge of laziness in not writing, brought against him by Bismarck, and urges in extenuation that, though an American diplomatist in Vienna has a certain amount of spare time on his hands, he is an "historical *gratte papier* as well, with a couple of volumes a year to turn out." He refers feelingly to the recent death of his aged father and to the death of the noble Wadsworth, killed at the head of his division in the battle of May 6th of that year. Bismarck must have been interested in the fate of General Wadsworth; and the heroic death of an American who could march in the defence of his country at the head of 1,000 men mustered on his own estates must have strangely appealed to one in whose veins ran the blood of a long line of feudal warriors.

VIENNA, 28th May, 1864.

MY DEAR OLD BISMARCK: It was a very great pleasure to hear from you again. It is from *modesty* that I haven't written—I thought that your time was so taken up with Schleswig-Holstein and such trifles that you wouldn't

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be able to find a moment to read a line from me. So I refrained on principle. Certainly I mean to come and see you in Berlin as soon as I can find a good opportunity. It isn't quite fair, however, for you to think me such a lazy fellow as you do. It is quite true that the relations between the United States and Austria are not very complicated; and I haven't, therefore, an overwhelming amount of diplomatic business on my hands just now—but you must remember that I am also a historical *gratte-papier* by profession, and that I write a big octavo volume every two years. I am like one of the *Kunstreiter* in Renz's Circus, always astride of two horses at once, going at full gallop. One of my steeds is called the Sixteenth Century, the other the Nineteenth, and I have a good deal of trouble to keep one leg firm on each. Besides, my duties of a reporter to my government of all that is going on in this blessed old Europe of yours are not light, for you know as well as any man living how much the perturbations of our continent have to do with the great affairs of yours. You may be sure that John Bull wouldn't have been found with such a nose of wax in the Denmark business, if he hadn't felt how dangerous it was for him to be a belligerent in a great European war, *with the United States neutral*, after he had been laying down theoretically and practically that it is the chief business of a neutral to fit out, arm and man ships-of-war in his ports to plunder and burn the ships of one of the belligerents.

The practical application by us of these English rules would have destroyed the commerce of Great Britain in two months and have brought destruction upon the Empire. But, as you say, politics be hanged, and I didn't mean to say as much as I have already said.

About coming to Berlin. Hardly a week goes by but my wife is trying to send me off to see my old friend Bismarck. God knows that it would be the greatest delight to me to do so and I certainly shall contrive it sooner or later. Just at this moment I am sad. A little while ago I received the intelligence of the death of my father, and although he was a very old man (nearly 83), yet he was healthy and vigorous and might have lived several years longer. We all know that such events are in the course of nature, yet when they come they are great afflictions. You may well suppose, too, that the great war in our country does not tend to make us very gay. Every post brings the news of some dear friend killed. My eldest daughter left us a few days ago with an intimate friend of ours, Mrs. Wadsworth, on her way to make a year's visit to America. On the morning of their arrival in Paris they read in the telegram the death of General Wadsworth, her husband's brother, killed at the head of his division in the battle of the 6th May. We have many near relatives and friends in the Potomac army now fighting sanguinary battles every day, so that we almost shrink from looking at the lists of killed and wounded in the American papers when they arrive.

I feel hopeful, however, that this year may be the last of the war on a great scale. If *we* succeed it will be the last, for the rebels confess publicly that if they are driven from Virginia their power of resistance is gone. There is no doubt of it. They cannot reinforce their present armies, and as to their finances they are a mere joke. They laugh at the very idea of ever paying their debt or redeeming their currency. It takes thirty dollars of what they call their paper money to make *one* dollar in gold. That is enough to say about *their* resources. Our new tax bill, passed almost unanimously, will give *us* four hundred million dollars a year. If *we* fail in this campaign (which I don't expect) then the war will last two or three years longer.

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There is no *possibility* of our giving up. No result to the war is possible, imaginable, except the triumph of the United States Government and the *entire* suppression of the mutiny, whether it takes us one year longer or ten. If anybody tells you that the United States Government, if unsuccessful in the present campaign, will negotiate for peace or dream of recognizing Jeff Davis and his Confederacy, tell him that he is an ass. There is exactly as much chance of Austria's recognizing Kossuth as President of the Hungarian Republic.

You asked me in the last letter before the present one "if we knew what we were fighting for." I can't let the question go unanswered. We are fighting to preserve the existence of a magnificent commonwealth which traitors are trying to destroy, and to annihilate the loathsome institution of negro slavery, to perpetuate and extend which was the sole cause of the Treason. If men can't fight for *such* a cause they had better stop fighting for evermore. Certainly, since mankind ever had a history and amused themselves with cutting each other's throats, there never, in the course of all ages, was better cause for war than we have—and there isn't a child in the country who doesn't feel this. There, I suppose I had better throw this letter into the fire—I have bored you unmercifully, when you would much prefer that I should chaff.

Once more—politics be hanged—what are your plans for the summer? You have got it all your way in the North Sea. By the way, I consider myself the real founder of the Austro-Prussian alliance, as I told Werther the other day. Now that you have nothing to do but amuse yourself and snap your fingers at old Pam and Johnny, are you going to any watering place? My wife says to me every day:

> "Bless me, did I ever? No, I never
> Saw a man grow so yellow. How's your liver?"

and wishes to send me off to Carlsbad or the devil knows where to drink waters. I hate watering-places—I hate dyspeptic, broken-down diplomats pottering about and cackling of the ailments of their own and their country's constitutions. But if *you* were going anywhere, don't you go to Gastein again. Are you likely to come through Vienna?

Rechberg will probably be at the station waiting to fall upon your neck and embrace you with tears of joy. And my *Wenigkeit* will not be far off. But I forget; you are such a swell that you always have to take your King with you—*Ego et Rex meus*, like Cardinal Wolsey—and this is an impediment to smaller mortals like me.

It will give me infinite pleasure to be with you again. Pray give my kindest regards to Madame de Bismarck. I never forget all her kindness and hospitality in those, to me, most delightful visits to Frankfort.

Alas, that that period, too, should be melting into the past!

As to Logier, I am sure that his ghost still haunts the Friedrich Strasse No. 161, and will not be laid until you and I go up into the first floor front together and exorcise him. After that we will proceed to Servet's, and put our legs on all the chairs in the restaurant.

Good bye, my dear friend.

I will write again soon without waiting for a reply—for I know how tremendously hard at work you are.

It will always be a great pleasure, however, to get a line, if ever so short a one. My wife ventures to greet you and yours without yet having a personal acquaintance.

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Where is Keyserling? Do let me know if you have heard of him. I haven't had news of him since we parted in Frankfort.

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. L. MOTLEY.

A little memorandum—which please make a note of. You can tear off this last page for the purpose.

A very respectable American, a friend of mine, and employed at this moment and for several years past in the Chancery of my legation, is a fanatic for Beethoven—an ancient fiddler of whom you have heard.

He is writing the life of the said Beethoven. He wishes to consult the royal archives at Bonn, Düsseldorf, and various places in your realms in order to elucidate his subject. He will make a formal application for permission to do this, through our Minister at Berlin, Mr. Judd. His name is Alexander Thayer, and I vouch for his respectability in every way.

Please let him have this permission when it is applied for in due form, and by so doing oblige your old friend of Colony times, who doesn't sing any better than when he lived under a king.

P. S.—When you write, please send me two or three of your *carte de visite* photographs, with your name written under each. My children wish very much for them for their albums."

The postscript of this letter shows that Motley did not forget his countrymen in the pursuit of pleasure in the society of distinguished foreigners, as has been sometimes falsely charged against him. Needless to say that the required permission was obtained.

In a letter to his mother, written from Vienna, and dated July 27, 1864, a couple of months after the dispatch of the letter to Bismarck above quoted, Motley speaks of Bismarck's being in Vienna to negotiate the terms of peace with Denmark. It is difficult to imagine now, after the glorious campaigns of the Prussians against Austria and France, what a tremendous sensation the successful campaign against the Danes created throughout Germany in 1864. The storming of the entrenchments at Dueppel was undoubtedly a brilliant *fait d'armes;* but who now remembers that little more than a skirmish? Then it was in everybody's mouth. The reason is that, with the exception of the part played by a couple of Prussian army corps in suppressing the Baden insurrection of 1848, the Prussians had done no serious fighting since Waterloo; their military prowess was, therefore, an unknown quantity. In a speech in the North German Parliament *against* the Poles, Bismarck paid an unwilling tribute to the valor the Prussian Polish regiments displayed in the attack on Dueppel. I have been told by an eye witness of the storming, that the Poles were harangued before the attack not only by their officers, but by their priests (for the Polish

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priest is about as warlike as the Spanish *padre*), who held up the crucifix to them, telling them that the road to salvation led through the ranks of the enemies of their king. The excitement of the troops is said to have been something fearful to witness. They shouted and stamped upon the ground in their frenzy, and when the word to advance was given, swept everything before them.

"He dined with us yesterday," writes Motley, "*en famille*, asking us to have no one but Werther, the Prussian Minister, here that we might talk of old times and be boys again . . . He is as sincere and resolute an Absolutist as I am a Republican. But that doesn't interfere with our friendship, as I believe that Prussia is about as likely to become a Republic as the United States to turn into a Military Monarchy."

In another letter to his eldest daughter, dated August 16, Motley writes that "the only ripple we have had on our surface is when the bold Bismarck made his appearance," when they "drank three bottles of claret (not apiece) for dinner, and remained at table, to the amazement of the servants, until half past nine." To linger over the walnuts and the wine is not a Vienna custom. The Vienna newsmonger announced the next day that "Sir" Motley, the American Minister, had given a gala dinner to Bismarck, adding an imaginary list of guests, with not one of whom Motley was acquainted, even by sight.

The next letter of Motley to Bismarck is dated Vienna, January 15, 1866, about five months before the battle of Sadowa crowned the edifice of German unification under Prussian leadership, which Bismarck had been erecting, stone by stone. The mission of Bismarck to the Diet of the Bund at Frankfort had been one long struggle with Austria, who, by bullying some of the smaller States and cajoling others, had secured a much stronger following at Frankfort than Prussia. Austria bribed, intrigued, and made a liberal use of the subsidized press. She was not nice in the choice of means, and when Bismarck saw this he knew that she must be fought with her own weapons. He did so and with fair success. "Were all these decorations won in front of the enemy?" said an Austrian diplomatist to him after he returned from Frankfort, pointing to the crosses on his breast. "They were, indeed," replied Bismarck, meaningly; "in front of the enemy." The "enemy" was Austria.

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When the little chicken of the Schleswig-Holstein war hatched the enormous egg of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, there was but one cry from end to end of the Fatherland—"Bismarck is a traitor. He is about to shed German blood!" As Bismarck once said: "If I had failed in 1866, I might have ended the whole business with a pistol shot." This brought to my mind a story of him told me at Baden-Baden in 1868 by a charming English lady, the wife of a French diplomatist, Comte de La R——d. Bismarck, when Minister to Frankfort, came to Baden occasionally, and now and then staked a few louis on the roulette. If he won he let it double again and again until he had won a considerable sum. When remonstrated with he said: "*Madame, au jeu comme en politique et en amour, il faut toujours jouer le tout pour le tout.*" He well knew that if he lost his stake in 1866 all was over with him. "If I had gone back to Berlin after a Prussian defeat," he said, "the old women would have put sand in their stockings and clubbed me to death."

As in 1864, in 1866, as afterward in 1870, he played *tout va à la masse,* and won. His luck has been stupendous, be it asserted without detriment to his great genius. Who was it said that "no one should reproach a general with his good luck, since his good fortune is the fortune of the State?" It is equally true of a great statesman.

There is a passage in a letter of Motley's to his wife, written from Varzin in 1872, that finely illustrates this fact, of which the Prince himself was well aware:

"Bismarck said he used, when younger, to think himself a clever fellow enough, but now he was convinced that nobody had any control over events—that nobody was really powerful or great, and it made him laugh when he heard himself complimented as wise, foreseeing and exercising great influence over the world. A man in the situation in which he had been placed was obliged, while outsiders, for example, were speculating whether to-morrow it would be rain or sunshine, to decide promptly it will rain, or it will be fair, and to act accordingly with all the forces at his command. If he guessed right all the world said 'What sagacity; what foresight!' If wrong, 'all the old women would have beaten me with broomsticks.' 'If I have learned nothing else,' added the Prince, 'I have learned modesty.'"

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Motley's letters to his family, written when the war of 1866 was in an early stage, show that his Viennese surroundings did not blind him to the likelihood of Prussian success, nor did he share the pessimistic views of the situation voiced by Bismarck's countrymen of all shades of political opinion. The only men in Prussia who backed up Bismarck in the war of 1866 were the army men, and when he declined to reap *all* the fruits of victory in order to secure the friendship of Austria for a future occasion, even these turned their backs on him, thinking he was sacrificing the true interests of his country. Among these was the Crown Prince, afterward Emperor Frederick the Third.

Motley writes to his daughter on June 20, 1866: "The hard cutting instrument, which is now personified in my old friend Bismarck, may do its work by cutting away all obstacles and smoothing the geographical path to Prussia's great fortune. Bismarck is a man of great talents and of iron will. Probably no man living knows him more intimately than I do. He, too, believes in his work as thoroughly as Mohammed or Charlemagne, or those types of tyranny, our Puritan forefathers, ever believed in theirs. He represents what is the real interest of the whole Prussian people, from King William to the most pacific *Spiessbuerger* of Potsdam. They all want a great Prussia. They all want to Prussificise Germany. Only they want to do it *pacifically*. God save the mark! As if it were possible to make an omelette without breaking eggs!"

In the letter that follows, Motley begins by expressing regret for the recent illness of Madame de Bismarck, always so kind and considerate with her husband's old friend. Then there is a line or two recalling their early friendship, their lost youth. None of the letters these two great men exchanged is without a touch of sentiment. Motley is determined to see Bismarck once more, "before I am too old and crabbed to be fit company for one blessed like you with eternal youth." He sounds a note of triumph anent the issue of the American war that has verified his predictions to his friend, and makes a sarcastic allusion to the readiness of Lord John Russell to settle other people's quarrels.

VIENNA, January 15, 1866.

MY DEAR BISMARCK.—I was deterred from writing you a line to wish you and yours a Happy New Year by reading in the papers the distressing intelligence of the illness of Madame de Bismarck. Werther assures me,

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however, that now all danger is past, and I write therefore with a lighter heart to congratulate you most sincerely on what I doubt not is her complete recovery. Countess Bismarck was always so kind and gracious to me, and received me so like an old friend because I was your old friend, that I have felt keenly anxious about her. I know full well how much sorrow her danger must have caused you. God grant that she may be fully restored and that you may be all well and happy together. Pray give to her my most sincere remembrances and best wishes. Your children have long since forgotten my existence, and my little friend Marie is now a young lady going to make her conquests in the great world.

I suppose that you will hardly find a quarter of an hour to write to me —otherwise it would give me great pleasure to hear how your dear wife is, and how you are yourself. I observe, however, that your *abgeordnete* are coming together to-day—so that you will have plenty of leisure and nothing to do but to write to me.

I fear that the billing and cooing between Prussia and Austria is not now so fervent that there is any chance of your coming here again very soon, and there seems to be but little prospect of my getting a holiday at present, so as to beat up your quarters in Berlin.

Nevertheless I am determined that I will see you once more before I get too old and crabbed to be fit company for one blessed like you with eternal youth.

I won't talk politics. You hate them and I look at them with a gentle indifference. You see that I did not mislead you in regard to the American war, about which Europe made such an infernal ass of itself. That was the only politics about which I ever pretended to know anything, and I believe you were one of the few Europeans who ever cared to know my opinion (which was that of every loyal American), and who thought that an American might possibly know something about his own country. People in general were content to drop their buckets into those wells of truth, the *Times* and the *Moniteur*, and now they have found out at last that the Great Republic—disagreeable as it is—is not dead, but a fact to be dealt with in the coming centuries on this planet. So they are very bilious at being disturbed in all their little combinations. But it does no good. They must try to get over their *katzenjammer* as well as they can.

I have said much more of politics than I had intended.

I shall refrain from giving you any advice as to how you are to deal with Schleswig-Holstein. *If you have never thought on that subject*, write to Lord Russell—he will tell you all about it. He was always ready to instruct our Cabinet at Washington. You have *my* consent to do as you like. Do you remember what the "formal old fop" of a parson in "The Antiquary" used to say to Miss Griselda, much to the indignation of her brother *Jonathan Oldbuck?*

"Madam, I drink to your inclinations—provided always they be virtuous."

Well, I drink to your inclinations without that proviso.

I am very busy myself with the politics of the 16th and 17th centuries, and am always amused at seeing how very much they resemble those of this age. The world is a cat always going after its own tail.

Do you ever hear of Keyserling? He wrote me a letter about two years ago and I answered him with another. He asked me about American affairs, and on that hint I spoke—at unusual length—so that I fear he shrinks from bringing another such infliction upon himself.

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"Ah me! when shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?"

We are passing here a very retired winter. Vienna society moves round in its preordained zodiac obeying its elemental laws. There are the same balls, dinners, and drums as in past years.

* * * * *

If you ever write—which I hope but have hardly a right to expect—pray remember the promise. It will give them very great pleasure. If you write your name at the bottom it will make them still happier. We have one of Countess Bismarck, which she was kind enough to give me in Frankfort. If she can spare us another we shall be grateful—and one of your children.

"Once more, hoping that all will go well with you and yours in this and in the coming years, and that Madame de Bismarck will be entirely re-established in health, I remain

As ever, my dear Bismarck,
Your sincere old friend,
J. L. MOTLEY.

My wife desires to be most kindly remembered to you.

The next letter is from London, dated August 2, 1869. Motley has been recalled from Vienna by President Johnson on the score of charges of "flunkeyism" and subserviency to foreigners brought in a letter written to the United States by a gentleman named McCracken. This letter is forwarded to Motley, who very properly disdains to take any notice of it, and forwards to Washington instead of the desired explanation his resignation. Mr. Andrew Johnson simply observed: "Let him go." This is what Oliver Wendell Holmes says of the incident:

"But no caution could have protected him (Motley) against a slanderer who hated the place he came from, the company he kept, the name he had made famous, to whom his very look and bearing, such as belong to a gentleman of natural refinement and good breeding, must have been a personal grievance and an unpardonable offence."

There is nothing to add to this; Dr. Holmes has said all.

His opinion of Motley he expressed in this wise: "There was no society to which Motley would not have added grace and attraction by his presence. And to say that he was a welcome guest in the best houses of England is only saying that these houses are always open to those whose abilities, character, achievements are commended to the circles that have the best choice by the personal gifts which are nature's passports everywhere."

Motley, after a long search, found a house that suited him in the London residence of Lord Yarborough, not far from Lord Salisbury's town house.

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LONDON, August 2, 1869.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—I can't resist the impulse to write to you once more, although I am sure that you will never answer me. I don't know how many letters I have written without getting a reply. Nevertheless I have the confidence in our old friendship to feel perfectly sure that you have not forgotten me, and that I should find you, whenever I have the good fortune to meet you, the same as of old.

I have been here since June 1. I think it highly probable that you may have noticed in some of the newspapers my appointment as Minister to this post, and very soon after my arrival here, Count Bernstorff brought your two sons to me at an evening party, and I assure you it was a great delight to me to see these two young old friends, whom I knew so well when they were children in Frankfort, and the eldest of whom is about the age of ourselves when we first became friends in Goettingen. They only passed through London, leaving, so they told me, the next morning. I wish that I could have had them under my roof. Alas! at that time—and also at this time—I have *no* roof. Up to this moment I am houseless in London—living at an hotel and awfully tired of such a life.

We have been house hunting without success two months long. The Republic which I have the honor to represent does not provide as comfortable quarters as Prussia House, in which our excellent friends the Bernstorffs are so delightfully established. We have no Legation Hotel, and each new Minister on his arrival, must provide himself as best he can.

My girls are now away at the seaside, and my wife and myself are going to look at three different houses this morning—probably to decide that not one of them will do.

I was extremely distressed at leaving Europe last year without seeing you. I had made a hundred plans for so doing, but they all failed. I had set my heart on seeing you once more and looked forward with delight to the possibility of finding you in Berlin and enjoying the spectacle of my old friend in the very central point of his power, from whence the radiation is so brilliant, so creative, so invigorating to this fatigued and battered old Europe.

How I should like to talk with you of all your immense achievements, with which the world rings, and of which history will always be proud. You cannot gather, I am sure, with what deep interest and sympathy I have watched your splendid career. But I have no idea of taking a flight at this moment into the regions of the *haute-politique*. Nor will I say anything of my own task in these eternal Anglo-American matters—rolling the stone of Sisyphus. As I once before observed to you, I think, grocers never eat figs in private life. I had a letter from Canitz a few days ago, giving me news of you. I hope sincerely that you are recruiting your strength in the vacation which you are taking. Pray give my affectionate regards to Countess de Bismarck, although she so persistently refuses to answer my letters, also to Mdlle. Marie, who has long ago forgotten her *oncle d'Amerique*. Pray try and let me have a line to show me that you have not entirely forgotten me. Always sincerely your old friend.

J. L. MOTLEY.

Five days after the date of the last letter, Bismarck writes a charming letter (in German) to Motley from Varzin, and expresses the hope that he and the ladies of his family will visit the Bismarcks there. In answer to Motley's reproach that he

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is a bad correspondent, he playfully says: "That I have not answered your letters must be true since you say so, but it seems improbable, and the consciousness of my virtue is so strong in me, that I had almost rather doubt the regularity of the North German Postal Service, which is under my management, than believe in my personal negligence. 'Doubt that the stars are fire,' but do not doubt of my virtue." He speaks of the facilities of modern traveling. "Give your arm to madame, your wife, and jump into a cab. In twenty minutes you are at the railway station, in thirty hours in Berlin, and in half a day more here. It would be charming. We will once more be as jolly (*lustig*) as in the old days. Please come. Fling all cares and worries behind the stove. You're sure to find them all intact when you go back. Come arranged for a short time or a long one, but the longer the better. I have so set my mind upon it that if you don't come I shall be ill, and that might have the most disastrous effect on politics."

This kind invitation Motley was unable to respond to until April of 1872, which was his last meeting with the friend of his youth. In a touching letter, in answer to the invitation which is subjoined, Motley expresses his regret at being unable to come to Varzin. He then quotes some German verses showing that human life may be summed up in the one word "abstinence." He expresses the hope that Bismarck will not turn Europe upside down next summer, as he wishes to travel in North Germany with Mrs. Motley, and also that Bismarck may not, by changing the map of Europe, shake Motley's reputation as an authority in geography, on which he prides himself. Motley will try to come next year. Alas, next year was 1870, the year of iron and blood. The map was changed with a vengeance, and Motley had to forget a good deal of his geographical knowledge.

LONDON, August 13, '69.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—Alas and alas! Why must everything be impossible which we hunger and thirst to do?

"*Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren*
Das ist das ewige Gesang.
Das taeglich in den Ohren klingt."

Nothing in the world could be half so tempting as to get into that cab—*Sammt F. Gem*—and plunge into the Pomeranian wilderness, tomahawk and carpet bag in hand. But first without *Urlaub*, I can't leave my post—and before I could get it you would be gone from Varzin.

Your letter was so friendly in its invitation, and the two charming little

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postscripts signed "Johanna" and "Marie" added so much to its eloquence, that I resisted only with a very severe struggle. But in melancholy seriousness, I cannot come this year. But the first step that I make out of this kingdom will be to come to see you. It will be next year at some time, for I mean to write for an *Urlaub* and keep it in my pocket and wait to see when it will be most convenient for you to have me, either in Berlin, Varzin, or where you will.

Meanwhile, a thousand thanks to you and the Countess and the Countess Marie for your kind invitation. My wife joins me in affectionate regards to them as well as to yourself. She will not admit that she is unacquainted with them, having heard so much of them from me.

As I hope that you don't mean to amuse yourself by turning Europe upside down next summer, I trust that one will be able to travel in North Germany then. Moreover, I have always prided myself on my geographical proficiency, and on knowing about the rivers, capitals and political boundaries, mineral productions, and religious arrangements of Europe.

I am studying the new maps, or mean to do so when I have bought them—so please let Europe alone for a year or two, otherwise I shall "trust in ignorance" for the remainder of my days.

The season is over—London has gone out of town. My wife and myself are all that remain at present out of a population of four millions—the last of the Mohicans—and we leave to-morrow morning for a few weeks in the country.

Remember that I mean to invite myself next year. *Nimm es nicht uebel* that it was impossible for me to accept your invitation now, and don't revenge yourself by refusing to see me when I do come. *Tausend herzliche Gruesse an die gnaedige Frau Gemahlin und* Countess Marie.

Always your true friend,

J. L. M.

Motley's next letter answers one of Bismarck's dated Varzin, August 7, 1869, in which he makes a strong appeal for the retention in Berlin as Minister of the United States of the late George Bancroft, whose recall French and Hanoverian intriguers were endeavoring to bring about. The Prince was always a great friend and admirer of Bancroft, and unless my memory betrays me, there is a capital oil portrait of him at Friedrichsruh, and I was told that as it was desired to show him some mark of esteem, and he could not accept a decoration, he had been presented with a full length oil portrait of the King, afterward the Emperor William I. I believe that the late Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States in Paris, during the war of 1870, who took the German residents there under his wing in the absence of their own ambassador, was made happy in the same way. Bismarck writes on September 19, 1869, to Motley that he has been notified from Paris that Bancroft was to be recalled, because he did not represent the United States in Berlin with credit.

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"No one in Berlin," he says, "will share this opinion." He states the high esteem in which Bancroft is held in literary circles and at court, and the confidence reposed in him. The fact that he has never concealed his kind feelings toward the German government has earned him the enmity of its enemies at home and abroad. The secret service money of the deposed King of Hanover and of the Elector of Hesse, as well as of certain foreign governments not kindly disposed toward Prussia, have been used to procure attacks upon him in the press in Europe and presumably in America. "No one," he adds, "who is a friend of America or of Germany, or of all those who see with pleasure the fraternal relations existing between two nations, cultured and free, can have had any share in these intrigues." He is one of the most popular men in Berlin. "If thou still hast the old kind feeling for the city that thou knowest from contemplating it from the window of old Logier's house, do what thou canst to prevent our losing him." There is much more, but the little allusion to the rooms they occupied together as college lads clinched the matter, and Motley did his best to fulfill his friend's wishes, as the following letter shows. He and Bismarck always addressed each other as "thou" in German, which is only done by the most intimate friends.

As General Badeau had been General Grant's private secretary, no better person could have been intrusted with such a delicate mission as the laying of Bismarck's letter before the President.

LONDON, September 27, 1869.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—Your letter of September 19 was received a day or two ago. It so happens that General Badeau, Assistant Secretary of this Legation, was just going to America on brief leave of absence. I accordingly translated the portion of your note referring to Mr. B., and gave it to him to be placed before the President and Mr. Fish, Secretary of State. In this way your strong remonstrance and enconium will produce the greatest effect, and I have also taken care that your letter should be most carefully and confidentially kept private.

General Badeau sailed yesterday, and will be in Washington within ten or eleven days. I should add that I have never heard at all of the intrigues to which you allude. Whenever I hear from Badeau or anyone else on the subject I will let you know.

How much I regretted not being able to visit you in Varzin! It would have been so jolly for us to turn ourselves into twenty years old again for a brief season.

But it was and is absolutely impossible for me to leave at present. In the first place I have no leave of absence, and in the next place I have mountains of work. Moreover, I am still in search, not of the best of Republics

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(that is already found), but of the most comfortable of houses—and that is most difficult to find—brick and mortar being very dear in London and very bad.

Every house that I have thus far inspected has the dirt of ages accumulated in every room. We have all been living in an hotel, four months long, except with an intermission of a few weeks of country visiting.

You will not think me exaggerating about my work when I tell you that there are but two Secretaries of Legation, one of whom, as I said, is away on leave.

I have written to the Secretary of State asking for a discretionary leave of absence. I expect to get it, and when I see my way clear of business (if so blessed a time should ever come) for a few days or weeks, I shall invade you at Berlin. It will be the most agreeable holiday I could ever imagine for myself. Give my kindest remembrance and regards to Countess Bismarck and the Countess Marie, and to your sons if with you. Believe me always, Most sincerely your friend, J. L. M.

My wife and the girls join in kindest greetings. Suppose you should generously and magnanimously fulfil your often given and broken promise and send those photographs with your signature to my womankind.

To this friendly request for his photograph, Bismarck answers from Varzin on October 10, enclosing three of his *cartes de visite*. "Feeling very proud that your ladies wish to see me photographed, I hasten to send to you two melancholic civilians and a fat, melancholy gentleman who seems not at all concerned in all the plague that ministers and parliamentary life are subject to." He expresses the wish that he may receive the photographs of the ladies of Motley's family in return, which the Countess Bismarck is very anxious to have. "If you send them," he says, "such an act of benevolence would increase and fortify my domestic authority." He thanks Motley for his prompt action in the Bancroft matter. "They write to me from Berlin that in his own opinion his position at home is a safe one, but it is a fact that French influence is at work against him, and that at Paris they believe they have been successful in upsetting him." Bancroft was only sent to Berlin as Minister in 1868; this was in 1869, so that the French must have lost no time in finding out that he was not their friend. The sentence, "in Paris they believe they have been successful in upsetting him," showed Bismarck's consummate knowledge of human nature. He understood General Grant's character, knew his attention would be called to the passage, and felt sure that if anything could keep Bancroft at Berlin, that would.

The writer of this article remembers that when the arrival of Bancroft was announced, one of Queen Augusta's suite came

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to a member of his family, and asked which one of Bancroft's works it would be best for the Queen to read before the new minister arrived; of course the answer was "The History of the United States."

In giving Bismarck a few items of gossip from London, Motley refers in feeling terms to the death of George Peabody. In the end of the letter he laments the days of his youth: "*Wo ich noch selbst im werden war,*" and refers to some old joke of their college days, always sure to find a responsive echo in Bismarck's breast.

LONDON, November 7, '69.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—I did not intend that a month should slip by without a reply from me to your kind letter of October 10, with thanks for the photographs, which gave immense delight to us all.

I waited day after day for some *carte de visite* of myself, but it is only within a day or two that I have been enabled to lay the inclosed grizzled head at the feet of Madame de Bismarck and her fair daughter.

My wife has no photograph, and resolutely refuses to have one done. Inclosed is one of my second daughter, Mary. Susie has none at present. When there are any I will send one. I now consider myself justified in claiming strenuously the heads of all your family. I am sure they will not have the heart to refuse us. Also pray add one or two more of yourself.

Lily (my eldest daughter) magnanimously gave one of those you sent to a lady at whose house we were visiting, and who is a great admirer of yours. She is, moreover, a young and beautiful person.

We are at last in a house, and a very pleasant one—with windows opening on one of the great parks.

London is delightfully still and empty, so that I can imagine myself in the country.

I wish you would drop in upon us as you did that evening in Vienna—for alas! I see no present possibility of my leaving my post.

One of my secretaries has gone home on leave of absence, and the other, as well as myself, has so much to do that it will be impossible to get a holiday for a long time to come.

Our republican system does not allow of a dozen secretaries to each legation—so that a great deal of routine work comes upon the chief.

I wish I could see my way to an invasion of Berlin, but the project must be deferred. It is, however, a doomed city, for I am determined to enter that capital in triumph or perish in the attempt.

The sensation of the week in London has been the visit of the Queen to the city to open a bridge. It was a civic affair and doubtless most loyal and gorgeous. The dip. corps fortunately were not invited to turn out on the occasion—so that I am unable to give you a glowing account of the festivities.

Our great philanthropist, George Peabody, is just dead. I knew him well and saw him several times during his last illness. It made him happy, he said, as he lay on his bed, to think that he had done some good to his fellow creatures.

I suppose no man in human history ever gave away so much money.

At least two millions of pounds sterling, and in cash, he bestowed on

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great and well-regulated charities, founding institutions in England and America which will do good so long as either nation exists.

He was never married—has no children—but he has made a large number of nephews and nieces rich. He leaves behind him (after giving away so much) I dare say about half a million sterling.

Good-bye. Write soon again. It is so agreeable to hear from you—if only a line—it makes me young again.

"*Gieb mir doch die Zeiten wieder*
Wo ich noch selbst in werden war."

Pray, sir, is your name Joyce—J-o-y-c-e ?

Kindest regards to Madame de Bismarck and all your household, in which mine join. Ever thine, J. L. M.

Motley pays Bismarck the tribute, among others, in a letter to Lady William Russell, of possessing the most undaunted courage. When the Prussians entered Paris, Bismarck saw that when the men in the mob recognized him, they scowled at him furiously. He at once rode up to the wickedest-looking one, asked him civilly for a light for his cigar, thanked him, and received a polite bow in return. When the late John Morrissey saw a "bad man," a gambler who had threatened to shoot him on sight, standing at the bar of the Grand Union in Saratoga, he walked up to the bar quite close to him, poured out a tumbler of ice water, drank it and walked out without once looking at the man. "In a case of that kind," said John, in the hoarse whisper peculiar to him, "I always think it best to come straight to the front." So it was with Bismarck, and John was a bit of a Bismarck in his way; while the Prince in his younger days was gifted with tremendous physique and a readiness to "box without the muffle." He gave a fearful thrashing once in a Berlin beer hall to a man who wantonly insulted him. He himself told me that he received a queer compliment near St. Petersburg from a Russian *Istvochik* or cabman, a very rough fellow indeed, as they all are. The Prince hired him to take him out of town to a village near by, paid him, with a handsome gratuity, and dismissed him. The man, however, was dissatisfied, remonstrated and finally became insolent and even threatening. Bismarck seized him, turned him around, and with one vigorous kick sent him flying down the entire flight of stairs. The man got up and, while rubbing himself, glanced at him not without admiration. "*Is naschi*," he said, "one of us?"

JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

(*To be Continued.*)

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ORGANIZED SELF HELP AND STATE AID IN IRELAND.

THE Committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has just issued to its members the report of its work and progress during the year ending March 31, 1898. A map is published showing the distribution of the societies formed under its auspices: and, attached thereto, is a scale giving the number of societies and their aggregate shareholding membership for the years 1889 to 1898. Only the heads of families take shares in the societies; so the number of persons benefited is at least five times as great as the number of shareholders. The figures are:

Year.	No. of Societies.	Membership.
1889	1	50
1890	1	50
1891	17	850
1892	25	1,050
1893	30	1,250
1894	33	1,650
1895	67	3,800
1896	110	10,120
1897	148	14,290
1898	243	27,322

In the year's returns the societies are classified, as to objects, as follows:

Dairy and Agricultural societies	136	(13 of which have auxiliary separating stations).
Agricultural societies	77	
Banks	15	
Home industries and poultry	13	
Federations	2	
	243	

Upwards of forty more societies have been organized since the period to which the report relates.

The significance of the above figures can hardly be exaggerated. They tell the story of a movement advancing at a rapidly increasing rate of progress. It has been extended to each of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, has been applied to every branch of the farming industry, and to those home industries which are needed to supplement the revenues of agriculture and stock raising. Alike in agricultural production and distribution, it has succeeded in adding to the volume of business, and in saving for the producer some of the profits hitherto abstracted by the middleman from the dis-

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organized farmers. It has enabled poor cultivators to escape from the clutches of the usurer by obtaining for the individual the benefit of the credit of the association. All these results have been produced on a scale which hardly justifies us in asserting that we have passed beyond the experimental stage. But the experiments have been tried under the most varying conditions, and their uniform success indicates that they are the foundation of an economic revolution in Ireland of the most far reaching character.

Those who have taken up the movement—who have put into practice the principles of co-operation which the original society preaches—have learned to look upon the business of their lives from a new standpoint. They analyse the conditions with which they have to deal, and see that the Irish farmer, confronted with a world-wide competition, has only one advantage left to him over his competitors, viz., nearness to market. Of this advantage he has been deprived by his failure to organize his production and distribution as his continental neighbors have done. He sees, none too soon, that his failure to understand and adopt co-operation has resulted in his remaining as much behind the age as an individual as he is out of date collectively. He has made but little advance in his knowledge or in his methods. Science has not come on to his farm, and he is only now raising himself by the efforts to which the Organization Society is rousing him out of a veritable Slough of Despond. Already the eagerness for information, the readiness to apply it to practical ends, and the social machinery through which it can be so applied, are manifesting themselves as the first fruits of the organization movement, and point to better things.

So far we may congratulate ourselves that we are entering with spirit into the competition of the age. We are determined to rely mainly upon the resources of self help. But, in order to compete on even terms with foreign producers, we need to have our voluntary efforts supplemented with a reasonable measure of State aid. The report of the Recess Committee, which attracted more interest in America than among our own legislators, which even found an honored place in the Annual Report of the United States Minister of Agriculture, defined the narrow limits of the required assistance. Those responsible for the Irish Government would have acceded to this request from Irishmen of all parties, and they even introduced in the spring of 1897 a measure to give effect to these recommendations. But it was not seriously promoted in Parliament, and now our highest hopes are that our urgent needs for that technical education and information which the Government alone can supply will be favorably considered by the Parliament of 1899. If we are again disappointed, I feel confident that, before the century is out, the Irish "Grange" will be powerful enough politically to compel legislative and administrative attention to the needs of the Irish agriculturalist.

Such briefly is the position of organized self help and Government assistance in the Emerald Isle.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

CABLE CUTTING IN WAR.

WHEN the Atlantic cable was first successfully laid and operated, an exchange of congratulations between the Queen of England and the President of the United States was telegraphed under the seas, and President

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Buchanan in his message used these significant words: "In this view, will not all nations of Christendom spontaneously unite in the declaration that it shall be forever neutral, and that its communications shall be held sacred in passing to their places of destination, even in the midst of hostilities?"

Thus, the first long submarine cable was barely put in good working order before speculation was rife as to the ultimate effect of this new agent upon the wars of the future. A new, and probably dangerous, element was introduced into the naval problem, that was already difficult enough to solve, and England, in particular, as the chief shipping and naval country of the world, recognized the value and importance of the cable as a powerful engine for war, as well as the greatest nineteenth century civilizing agent. Constructed in the interests of peace and commerce, the cable nevertheless became a formidable friend or enemy in times of war. The nation which controlled the cables would hold the key to the whole situation, and it was reasoned by those in power that the isolation of a nation by cutting or holding the cables would be a blow to an enemy equal to the defeat of a whole fleet of armor clads.

Although not a cable laying nation, and with a strangely apathetic policy toward projecting new lines of submarine telegraph in the past, our war with Spain has demonstrated that the Washington authorities were keenly alive to the importance of cutting or controlling the cables connecting Cuba with Spain. Of the many naval problems which this modern war is expected to solve, that of testing the relative value of cables in deciding the fate of combatants is not the least. The isolation of Cuba from Spain was one of the first steps undertaken by our naval authorities, and the success of the work has demonstrated its feasibility.

From a strategic point of view, the cables are therefore of inestimable value, and if earlier in the conflict the United States had severed all communication between the blockaded island and the mother country the war would have in all probability been shortened. A nation shut off from communication with the rest of the world is effectively blockaded, but, so long as cable messages can be transmitted back and forth, the most rigid blockade of ships is somewhat doubtful in obtaining the desired results. Uncertainty is an evil that works insidious harm, and an isolated nation is weakened by being cut off from its fleet or army operating in distant fields.

In April of 1884 there was held in Paris a "Convention for the Protection of Submarine Telegraph Cables," as it was called, and all of the great powers were represented; but the result of this convention's whole work was of little real value except for the agreement to protect the cables in times of peace. In fact there was displayed a decided tendency to restrict any interference on the part of a nation at war with another from cutting the cables to facilitate naval or military operations. By the adoption of Article XV., the convention put itself upon record as refusing to interfere with the rights of belligerents. The article in question reads: "It is understood that the stipulations of the present convention do not in any way restrict the freedom of action of the belligerents."

There is little doubt but this is the true expression of opinion of most of the great powers, and there would be greater difficulty in securing an agreement among the nations of the world to regard cables as neutral in times of war than in obtaining signers to the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, abolishing privateering. In view of her world-wide control of the cables, England would reap the greatest benefit from such a treaty among the European

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nations, and it is just her supremacy on the high seas and her control of the cables that would make the other powers refuse to subscribe to any such agreement.

Cable cutting for war purposes has never figured greatly in modern conflicts, but this has been due to the fact that the need has not yet been felt. Practical experience in this line may be said to begin with the present war between Spain and the United States. In the war between Peru and Chile, cables were freely cut along the coast of South America, and the effect this produced on the course of the war was important. When England bombarded Alexandria, the lines were cut by Arabi's troops which crossed Egypt and formed the principal means of communication with India, China and Australasia. But this was of little moment, as there was another line for sending communications through Persia and Russia.

Since the bombardment of Alexandria, England has constructed a ring of cables around Africa, America, and India, and she is much better prepared to keep in communication with her fleets and colonies scattered all over the world than ever before. England's policy of building and controlling cable lines has been co-extensive with her work of constructing docks, repair shops, and coaling stations in all parts of the world. In fact, the latter necessitates the former. Without the use of the cables to communicate with her outlying provinces, and to direct her fleets, her extensive coaling and naval stations would lose half their value. Once isolated from the rest of the world by the cutting of her cables in times of war, England's vast navy would be crippled beyond ordinary conception.

But the interesting question that is receiving special attention now is, How could she protect the cables from the enemy's fleets? The present war has demonstrated the practical ease with which cable-cutting plants can be fitted out, and also the effective work that can be accomplished in cutting cables even under the very guns of the enemy. Admiral Dewey's fleet had little difficulty in picking up the cable at Manila and cutting off all direct communication with the rest of the world. Similarly, the cable cutting ships sent down to Cuba performed their work with comparative ease, and without loss of life. England to day owns thousands of miles of submarine cables, and in the event of hostilities breaking out it would be quite essential that she should protect these to conduct the war successfully.

Sir Charles Dilke, an authority on such matters, has publicly declared that all the British cables following the trade routes would be patrolled by war vessels, and thus be protected from the enemy's cable cutting ships. But the stupendous size of such an undertaking in times of war may not have been carefully considered. Unless engaged in a war with a far inferior power, a nation is apt to require most of her warships for fighting purposes, and it would be no easy matter for even Great Britain to find a sufficient number of cruisers to patrol the lines of her principal cables without seriously weakening the fighting squadrons. Moreover, a swift cable-cutting ship, such as our converted cruiser "St. Paul," could easily slip behind a patrolling cruiser at night, and grapple for a cable. Most of the Atlantic cables which cross from America to England reach the latter country by way of the English Channel, and at this point they lie in water varying from 40 to 100 fathoms, a depth which seems to invite cable cutting from the enemy at the first outbreak of hostilities.

While not owning or operating any of the great submarine cables, the United States Government has such an extensive seacoast that great

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quantities of subaqueous cables, crossing rivers, lakes, bays, and other small bodies of water, have been laid by it to connect forts, telegraph stations, and other important places. The demand for these small cables by both the Government and the Western Union Telegraph Company has been so large that cable making plants have grown up in this country, and they have the necessary appliances for manufacturing all except large ocean cables. Two or three firms are capable of turning out a mile of subaqueous cable in a week.

Naturally, cable laying ships, and all modern scientific equipments, have been constructed on a proportionate scale. Had no such industry been in existence in this country at the outbreak of the war, it might have required considerable time and money to manufacture or import the apparatus necessary for grappling and cutting cables, and for splicing and laying them to new points. Cable laying, cutting and splicing represent a special branch of science, and engineers have to be trained for this work as for any other. A cable laying ship must have all the facilities for splicing in mid-ocean, and for grappling for broken ends at any reasonable depth. The cost of a complete outfit runs up into hundreds of thousands of dollars. England has cable making plants and cable laying ships that represent a single investment of five million dollars.

But this is merely a natural consequence of her policy of cable laying. In her international system she operates fourteen long ocean cables, nine of which belong exclusively to her; in her home system she owns 102 separate lines; ninety-three in her Indian system and nearly fifty more in Canada, Australia and her other colonies. These aggregate an enormous mileage of cables that must be protected in a war period; but, as many of them ould be abandoned without interfering materially with direct communication with her colonies, no attempt would probably be made to patrol the full list.

The other countries of Europe own or control a number of cables, which in the event of a war would either seriously handicap them by the necessity of patrolling them, or would afford a strategic advantage over the enemy that might decide the issue. Norway, for instance, owns 225 official cables, but as they merely cross bays and rivers along her rugged coast, and are mostly short ones, they would not be of so much importance to the country in times of hostilities. France on the other hand operates fifty-two separate ocean cables, some of them being the most important in the world, and she would find it a stupendous undertaking to control them in a war with England, the United States or any of the European first-class powers. She would require a good sized fleet of cruisers to patrol the cables and keep the government in communication with her outlying colonies.

Germany operates 45 cables of more or less importance, and Italy claims ownership to 38, mostly of little international value. Spain has a part ownership in nine, Russia eight, and Brazil twenty-two. All of the other countries possess exclusive or part ownership over a few minor cables along their coasts or inland bodies of water.

The strategic value of controlling the cables in a war has been fully demonstrated in the present conflict, but it has not been made equally clear whether costly ownership of such cables at the beginning of hostilities is of any particular advantage. It is said that England could isolate many countries by seizing the cables at one end; but it is equally true that an enemy with a good fleet of cable-cutting ships could soon isolate England from her colonies. Owing to the great number of her cables

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in all parts of the world, it would take some time to do this, but the work could be accomplished in due time by an energetic enemy.

Distant colonies and coaling stations require ownership of cables, and if the United States Government decides to hold the Philippines it must be only a question of time before it will become imperative upon her to construct a cable there *via* Hawaii. Already the question of building a cable to the latter country has been agitated so generally that it is more than likely that either our government or American capitalists will eventually construct one. A Pacific Coast cable connecting our country with China and Japan is felt in many quarters to be only a question of time. The present war will probably expedite plans for building it. British capitalists stand ready to construct such a cable, and it is only the practical prohibition of the United States toward such a British scheme that holds the matter in check for the time being.

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

DANGER OF POLITICAL APATHY.

GOOD citizenship requires that we devote much attention to public affairs. It is the only way in which we can hope to conserve our liberties, protect our families, and perpetuate free government. No man can be a good citizen in theory alone. Citizenship demands action. It has to deal with conditions. A man may profess much love and admiration for our federal union, our institutional politics, our bicameral legislature, our independent judiciary, or the many other distinguishing parts of our system, but if he fail in actively supporting them, both by word and deed, he is but a sojourner here—not a citizen.

The support of government consists not alone in the payment of taxes. Money never made a free state, nor has it ever maintained one. Wealth may free us from the worry of many temporal concerns, but it cannot sever us from society and those social institutions which form the basis of all liberty, happiness and financial security.

A great many men of wealth display no personal activity in politics. The cares of business engross their whole attention. They seldom attend their party primaries, and many do not vote; they are citizens by proxy. When they desire the accomplishment of any political purpose, however good, a professional politician or lobbyist is employed to do the work for them, while they go on making money. Lord Bacon truly says that gold has sold more men than it has ever bought.

The greater portion of our recent political ills, and particularly the enormous corruption and dishonesty which seem now to pervade legislation and politics in general, may be directly ascribed to the fact of so considerable a number of our *quasi*-citizens remaining aloof from politics. Some of them seem to merit the remark of Thomas Jefferson, that "merchants have no country. The spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains." Aristotle says that commerce "is incompatible with that dignified life which it is our wish that our citizens should lead, and totally adverse to that generous elevation of mind with which it is our ambition to inspire them." It is unfortunately true that men in mercantile pursuits are too apt to measure all things by standards of pecuniary value. Their mode of life will naturally induce this habit of mind, unless precaution is used to guard against it. There is

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nothing singular in the fact that the rich man's contribution to politics is usually in the form of a campaign fund.

Where there is a business man who has no time for politics there is usually some person looking after his interests for him, and that person must be paid. Even though hired for good these mercenaries seldom accomplish the permanent good that is wrought by men who work from principle. Like soldiers of fortune, they stand ever ready to overturn the work of their own hands. A man who must be hired to work for a righteous cause will ultimately become so depraved that he will never work in behalf of right unless he is hired to do so; his moral sense is dulled, and he no longer discriminates between right and wrong, supporting either with equal facility, in compliance with his employer's will. This corrupt state is undoubtedly the condition of many in America to day. They may be found in political conventions, in the halls of Congress, in our State Legislatures, and in most municipal assemblies.

We have, for the purpose of illustration, supposed the hired lobbyist or politician to be employed in a good cause. As a matter of fact, these men are usually employed for evil purposes. And, although their cause may be just, they will seek to aid it by every species of dishonesty. They work in dark and crooked ways.

Every man should realize that the government under which he lives is a personal charge of the highest nature, and one involving the gravest responsibility. Where bad government exists the people have none but themselves to blame, for in them alone is the remedy. They are the fountain of all legitimate power, the ultimate source of all governmental authority. They may make government, or mar it. Government never neglects the people unless the people first neglect the government.

It will be seen that in those countries which have suffered most from bad government, a great portion of the citizens have been poorly versed in public affairs, or have been lax in the discharge of those duties which are demanded by good citizenship.

No citizen has a right to criticise public affairs, or bewail evil conditions which may exist, unless he is willing to work, as all citizens should, to better those conditions. Let him ask himself if he has done his own duty before he laments the fact that others have failed in theirs. Let him be certain that he understands the duties of citizenship in his country. Few perfectly understand their obligations as citizens, although the subject is one to which every freeman should devote careful study. They would then be capable of active and intelligent effort, and would perceive the folly of idle criticism. They would then know that liberty, like all things truly valuable, cannot be gained or kept without great effort, and that it remains not long with the undeserving.

Good laws and good constitutions are desirable, but even these can be available for the public good only when sustained by an earnest and active patriotism. The strongest bulwark of popular security cannot endure, if we permit the vermin of political apathy to pierce its walls, and thus open the sluices to the flood. The damage may be slight at first—imperceptible, perhaps—but the silent forces of destruction are ever at work. The constant pressure of the waters soon widens the mole-hole into a crevasse.

So it is with the forces that struggle against our free institutions. Unrelaxing and persistent, their tireless energies are ever exerted, and the smallest aperture may precede the cataclysm.

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Our ancestors have left us civil liberty. They obtained it at great cost. It is worth preserving, or it is not. If it is, every citizen is in duty bound to work toward that end. Those who affirm that our liberties are not in danger, evince surprising ignorance of the nature and history of the rights of man. Civil liberty is always in danger. It is so from its very constitution, being in its perfection but an equipoise of contending forces. It is endangered by the very power that gives it being. It is as susceptible of harm as the plant whose tender buds are drawn forth by the temperate beams of springtime, and withered by the summer sun.

Let us not augment our perils by closing our eyes against them. Our dangers are the greater because internal. To outer foes we present a solid front. But with what are we to oppose that intangible spirit of indifferentism which saps our energies at home? Political activity alone can oppose it—that ceaseless, vigilant and honest political activity which is ever prompted by a lofty patriotism.

SPEED MOSBY.

FANCY WORK OR NATURE STUDIES.

THE prevalence of abortive effects in art through the medium of fancy work is pathetic, though from an anthropological point of view it is an interesting contribution to the study of woman, for it shows her tireless energy in doing something. Yet the amount of useless needlework bric-a-brac that is yearly produced is frightful, and since sewing-machines have been invested with skill in embroidery, the monstrosities in art which are heaped upon shop-counters and from there carried into homes, have spread over the country like miasmatic exhalations towards the beautiful.

The first impulse towards the inchoate mass of fancy work which marks a girl's career is now received in the Kindergartens, through the braiding or weaving of strips of brightly colored paper. In defence of this ingenious method of occupation it is urged that it promotes the perception of harmony and color, and is also useful in furnishing inexpensive Christmas gifts. The little child sends a braided paper-mat to her grandmother, who returns thanks for the innocent offering in a printed note which deludes the child into thinking that she has wrought a meritorious deed (and she truly has), but which also impairs her sense of relative values, artistic or moral. From paper-mats she progresses to hairpin cases, etc. A young girl, who had been brought up to send such annual testimonials of respect to an aged friend, had them all restored to her when she was eighteen and in charge of a table at a fair. She examined them tentatively, commiseratingly, until she recognized that the articles had been the work of her fingers. Indignant at this betrayal of friendship she concealed their origin, but was compelled to offer them for sale. They were purchased as a job-lot for a distant mission by a philanthropic woman, who, attracted by their cheap price, neglected to inspect them carefully. The receipt of them was soon acknowledged by a missionary, who remonstrated against the bestowal of such job-lots, as they set a bad example in neatness, color and design to his people. The unfortunate young girl, who had made them, was only one of the thousands who are beguiled into fancy work through the fictitious necessity of making presents, a Christmas obligation which is one of the causes that have led to this mania for fancy work, through which most women pass as regularly as when children they had measles.

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Another cause is the innate desire for self-expression, that, when one has neither literary nor journalistic ability, is apt to vent itself in freehand and conventional designs for fancy work, or in original coloring by embroidery silks of what some one else has designed. Even if such designs belie the laws of growth in a flower or of perspective in landscape, conventional treatment of nature is supposed to justify such treatment; at least the phrase sounds artistic. Women tired with constant plain sewing or fussy dressmaking are rejuvenated by fancy work and restored to a belief that life is not all drudgery. To them it is akin to music, for by stitch and color they bring out the meaning of the artist as by tone others translate the thought of the composer. Such women ornament their homes with their work. Stiff sofas are believed to acquire graceful contours from embroidered ends of material strung across them; tables are encumbered with scarfs and mats, chairs are bedraggled with "creations," as one happy woman called them, who counted eighteen pieces of her work in her one small parlor.

Just here comes in the pathos of fancy work. It is an honest expression of the longing for the beautiful and of the eternal feminine energy that used to vent itself in hemstitching and knitting. The workers are ignorant of their limitations and contented in their delusions. Magazines and newspapers are largely responsible for this state of things, as they are for the sway of patent medicines. Women editors of women's columns entice women into endeavors to adorn their homes with these travesties of beauty. One of the latest efforts, which is hung over a parlor looking-glass, is a chain of heavy paper flowers, whose pistils and stamens, of unnatural size, are constructed of embroidery silk, and whose petals are painted or embroidered. Because it is so much more sociable for two women to sit down together to embroider than for each to read separately a trashy novel, the charm of such work is increased.

A third cause is the desire to add to one's income, or the need for self-support. Everywhere the Women's Exchanges are filled with useless fancy work, often well done, which is not always sold. For the last few years there has been a steady effort on the part of these Exchanges to raise the standard of work, but they are still deluged with what no one appreciates except their maker. The Decorative Art Societies are careful to hold themselves aloof from Exchanges or Unions and in the quality of their goods are far ahead of them, chiefly because artists are on their Committees and work is judged by the canons of art and not by the taste of interested friends. Below the Exchanges rank County Fairs (though they are noticeably improving), which often have as *chef d'œuvre* a bedquilt of microscopic pieces sewed together on a kaleidescopic plane surface. Religious emblems are also conspicuous among them, the cross and crown, the anchor and Bible, as they have been in floral bedding in the Public Gardens of Boston. Only an erotic sentimentalist is helped heavenward by such designs. That women win prizes for them and occasionally sell their contributions at Exchanges entices others into trying, just as the gainer of the lucky lottery ticket wins at the expense of those who lose even what they invested. It is better not to earn a little extra than to earn it at the expense of art, and it is better to be self-supporting by making what is really needed than by adding to the stock of surplus fancies.

But here again we are confronted with the pathos of fancy work, for much of it is wrought by invalids and women who rob the night of its hours

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of sleep, to add to their pittance through such work. Often they are misled by the advertisements of "Work at Home," which they imagine offers them rare opportunities of earning in safe and secluded ways. Such advertisements deceive the worker, who sends her money, receives material and returns it finished, only to find that it is counted as unsatisfactory and that she has lost time and money without redress.

If fancy work were restricted to embroidery, the evil in its misuse might wear itself out, just as fashions vanish, but it is a movable term or occupation which, invoking art on its behalf, poses before the public as expressions of the beautiful or as opportunity for self-support. It has its artistic side in imitations of Bayeux tapestry; its noble purpose in High Church embroidery—alas for the congregation which each Sunday views a calla lily wrought as if it were a flat flower!—its exquisite tracery in laces and its coarse imitations in crochet edgings for cotton skirts; though it is absurd that fine work done with a hook commands a less price than when executed by the needle. But when doylies, centre pieces, and lace work can only be wrought by the aid of magnifying glasses, the public should be as opposed to their sale, though offered at Decorative Art Societies, as it now is to tight lacing from hygienic reasons. The loss of eyesight is too often due to needle work when the worker was young and unaware of any strain upon her eyes. High prices are paid for doylies which serve as subjects for conversation at dinner parties, but the more exquisite the work the greater the injury to the eyes of the worker, and the less philanthropic does it seem to encourage its manufacture.

Under the term fancy work is included in descending values all kinds of worsted tidies, "creations" of lace and ribbon, monochromatic pictures and badly decorated china, till one would gladly return to ancestral pewter and undraperied apartments. Hopefully considered, these variations in art are signs of growth rather than of degeneration, while the pathos of the situation raises it into the dignity of a social problem, for we are still in bondage to the desire of proving our originality by fancy work. When we can forget that we have anything to prove regarding ourselves; when we can value our time and eyesight as the means for enjoyment of art and literature; when our friends no longer feed our vanity by over praise of poor work, and by advising the ignorant, sequestered worker to send her wares to city exchanges, we shall see that fancy work, honestly done for useful purposes, may be one of the portals to art, but not art in itself, as now so many believe.

It is from our schools and libraries, however, that is coming the reaction against work, which is already beginning to cease in several small towns, where there are libraries with *popular* books. The intellectual life of Women's Clubs is also an unprotesting but effective agent against it. Chief, however, as agents in this reaction are the Nature Studies in our public schools and Chautauqua Circles. Collections of minerals, woods and insects and other objects are slowly taking the place of the embroidery case. Nature is much more interesting when it is dissected than when it is embroidered, and observation of the living creature or insect is as good for home topics as the shading in silk of a flower. Drawing, even in the Public Schools, still more in the nature development of Art Schools, is pleading for reverence for Masters in Art rather than for an ignoble individualism. It will not therefore be possible for the young girl of to-day, trained in nature studies and skilled in geometrical drawing, to commit solecisms in fancy

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work which her mother does. If she is still addicted to embroidery, her productions will be artistic additions to the ever growing fund of home adornments.

Sloyd, which is now as womanly a pursuit as bicycling, is also an important factor in fostering exactness, neatness and utility, and offers a more serviceable range of Christmas presents for admiring elderly relatives than cheap embroidery. The use of the needle is coeval with human life, but nature-studies and Sloyd are limiting its vagaries, and showing that adaptability to purpose and exactness in execution are necessary in any mode of self support or for any permanent enjoyment of the work of one's hands.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

HOW CAN HOMICIDE BE DECREASED?

EVERY American reader must have been profoundly impressed by Professor Cesare Lombroso's recent discussion of the increase of homicide in the United States, by the appalling revelations which he makes, by his masterly treatment of the whole great problem, and by the practical wisdom of the remedies which he recommends. While probably few would pretend to such a knowledge of scientific criminology as would warrant them in an attempt to criticise the learned Professor's theories, it may be admissible to suggest two or three amendments growing out of actual experience and close observation in the very midst of the conditions at which he looks from an outside standpoint. An inside view by no means lessens the seriousness or the complicated character of the situation, but it suggests several considerations which seem to have escaped the sharp eye of the Italian criminologist. It points out very distinctively three great causes of the disease to which he has made no allusion and for which he has suggested no remedy.

1. It cannot be denied by anyone at all familiar with our conditions of life in America, that one of the chief factors which have contributed towards the increase of homicide has been the pardoning power lodged in the highest officials of our state and municipal governments. We feel quite sure that a close inquiry would reveal the fact that the hope of pardon after conviction in the courts of law has been distinctly present in the minds of many criminals, as likely to secure immunity from punishment. So long as it is possible for a convicted criminal, on whose behalf every artifice of legal delay and trickery has been exhausted in vain, to secure a pardon from a corrupt governor by bribery or by some powerful political influence, or to win one from a soft-hearted governor by the persistent pleading of friends and family, just so long and so far will the might and majesty of the law be unrecognized by the lower elements of society and a visible loophole left open for the escape of the criminal from justice. A cursory reading of our newspapers and a slight examination of our criminal records will make it abundantly evident that here lies one of the chief hopes and consolations of our criminal classes.

2. A frightfully large proportion of our homicides have women as their victims, a result, as we believe, of their helpless position in America. The exigencies of our business and social life either leave them alone at home or force them to go freely abroad, and in either case make them peculiarly liable to violent assaults. The widely scattered populations of our country

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regions and the congested crowds of our city slums offer unusual opportunities to lustful brutality. On our western plains, in mining and manufacturing regions, where the foreign element is large, and especially in the Southern States, where the black race predominates, and where large numbers of men are employed in domestic duties, the helplessness of women reaches its maximum. It may be safely said that no woman in our Southern States is ever entirely free from the danger of assault. This is the chief cause of the greater prevalence of homicide in this section, and, at the same time, of the frequency with which lynching is resorted to. It cannot rightly be left out of sight when the causes of homicide are being sought.

3. Another element in the problem which must not be forgotten is the low standard of professional honor which is tolerated in our criminal courts. It is a notorious fact that practices prevail in them which would not be permitted in our other courts of law; lower standards of professional morality have been allowed to establish themselves there. Lawyers openly use dishonest means for the defense of criminals which would be instantly ruled out from any other court, and yet their offences are overlooked and condoned, and the sacred cause of justice suffers. Until public opinion demands of all lawyers employed in the defense of criminals a purer practice and a higher standard of professional integrity, we must expect the crime of homicide to increase in our midst.

But now let us turn to the remedies which Professor Lombroso prescribes for this dangerous disease which afflicts our body politic. As has been indicated above, we should add several others to the excellent correctives proposed by him.

1. The pardoning power ought to be strictly limited or altogether abolished. Even in the hands of an upright and conscientious public servant it may, and often must, defeat the ends of justice. When entrusted absolutely to an unscrupulous politician (ignorant of law), to a weak and timorous character, or to a big-hearted and impulsive man of the people, it is a dangerous power. Under all circumstances the knowledge that it is to be exercised must weaken and undermine the public sense of the inflexible force of law.

2. We need to consider whether modern modes of life do not involve peculiar danger to womankind, and whether they cannot be so reformed as to secure for her greater safety from criminal assault. We ought also to provide better police protection for her, such as would reasonably guarantee the speedy capture of any assailant upon her honor. Finally, we should demand such prompt and summary execution of our laws against criminal assault as will impress all who are tempted to the commission of this crime with the certainty of severe punishment.

3. We must secure (by bringing to bear an enlightened public opinion upon our criminal courts) a higher standard of professional morality. We cannot afford to be careless in this matter, involving, as it does, our very dearest interests as citizens and the dignity of the law. Men who lend themselves to unprofessional trickery and deliberately undertake the defeat of justice ought to be ostracised and openly condemned, not only by all good lawyers, but by all decent citizens, and their offences ought to be made amenable to law.

4. One of Professor Lombroso's remedies is, in our judgment, hardly heroic enough. It cannot be that he is fully aware of the aggravated nature of the disease. American "yellow journalism" has gone to unheard-of

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lengths in the publication of criminal intelligence. It exerts an enormous influence in the development of crime and has become a menace to the security of our individual and national life. Its pages are the most powerful incentives to crime, and are quite as injurious to the welfare of our people as are the open doors of the brothel and the saloon. If we can regulate the one by law, we can and should reach and control the other by the same instrumentality. The time has come when journalism must be restrained by the strong hand of the law. The true "freedom of the press" will not thus be abridged. There is no liberty guaranteed by our national principles to any man to endanger the life, liberty, or happiness of his fellow-citizens in order to gratify his own greed of gain. A bill lately before the legislature of New York provided that "any person who conducts a paper which corrupts, depraves, degrades, or injures, or has a tendency to corrupt, deprave, degrade, or injure the mind or morals of the public, or of its readers, or of the people among whom it circulates, is guilty of a misdemeanor." Such a law, wisely framed and with heavy penalties attached, should be enacted and enforced in every State of the Union.

5. We cannot but feel that, after all, Professor Lombroso has omitted all mention of the most needful and effective of all remedies for the prevention of homicide, namely, the Christian religion. Surely it must be acknowledged that Christianity has been the most consistent and powerful champion of the sacredness of human life which the world has ever seen. All the world over we can measure the value and safety of human life by simply determining the hold which Christianity has upon the people in that locality. It has been abundantly proved in all ages that a high degree of civilization does not guarantee safety of life and limb. The histories of France and Rome are eloquent upon this theme. After all that has been said and done, the only force which can be depended upon to control the settlers of our new lands, the alien multitudes of our immigrants from foreign shores, and our half-civilized millions of emancipated slaves, and to restrain them from crime, is the Christian religion. Until this is brought home to them in all its purity and power, the terrible crime of homicide will continue to be a blot upon the fair face of American civilization.

WYLLYS REDE.

BOYS' CLUBS.

MAY I, as well as Mr. Sanborn, occupy a little space in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with a discussion of "Boys, and Boys' Clubs?" Only through open discussion, and much comparing of notes and experiences, will it be possible to discover some satisfactory system for running our Boys' Clubs, and until this system shall have been found, I cannot believe the last word on education has been spoken.

Mr. Robert Herbert Quick says that the fourfold results of education are (or should be) virtue, wisdom, good manners and learning. It is clear that the greater part of the time spent in schools must be devoted to learning only, for, although at the present time no more facts are taught there than are necessary, yet complaints are often heard that children in school are "crammed" and overworked. Where, when, and how, then, are virtue, wisdom, and good manners to be taught those children particularly whose families, or whose surroundings, make these things exceeedingly difficult of attainment.

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Let us suppose that we gather together eight or ten boys between the ages of twelve and thirteen years. We give them the use of a large room, and we provide them with a few games. The room becomes to them a tiny world, in which there are many opportunities to be found by those with imaginations, and many limitations visible to all. The boys have here the same rights and opportunities, and are equal in everything but natural endowments. Each boy can do what he likes to amuse himself, up to the point where he interferes with some other boy's effort to do the same thing, or where he damages property in the room; and each game must obey the same law and adapt itself to the requirements of other games, and to the limitations of the room.

All games—but particularly rough ones—teach many valuable lessons to the child. In them all self control and sweet temper are necessary. In the quiet games are learned, as Mr. Sanborn has said, concentration and application.* In rough games the first precious lessons in co-operation are learned, for a boy can be made to see that his side is less likely to win if he plays only for his personal glory. He learns, too, that it is better for his game, as a whole, if the weaker and more stupid players are helped and encouraged rather than snubbed and put out of the way.

When eight or ten boys have a place in which they can play, and a grown person with them who never interferes and yet who shows them how it is practicable for all to do what they want to do, it is probable that other boys in the neighborhood will also wish to enjoy these advantages. The question then arises, ought we to let in all indiscriminately? As Mr. Sanborn has said very truly, it were better to leave them to their not altogether vicious street life, than to "coop them (the boys) good and bad together within four walls, *unless somehow—by force of rigid discipline, persuasion, and affection, it matters not how, they are trained in the essential qualities of right living.*" The street *per se*, indeed, does not exert an evil influence, and it has, in its great space and comparative fresh air, an advantage over any room. But, when the "good" and the "bad" are "cooped together" or thrown together anywhere, it is sure to be bad for the "good." I do not agree with that part of Mr. Sanborn's sentence which I have italicized.

Mr. Sanborn will agree, I think, that the "essential qualities of right living" are virtue, wisdom, good manners, and learning. Rigid discipline rarely produces virtue or wisdom, even though it may aid good manners, and to rely on affection alone—although it must exist as a matter of course between the boys and their director—to produce the desired qualities, would result, I fear, in frequent failures. In the first place, instead of "cooping the good and the bad together," it would be better to keep out the bad; and, in the second place, the best system for teaching the "essential qualities of right living" to those boys—by no means angels—who are allowed into the club, is to give them a system of self-government.

One may say, quite justly, how can one decide who is bad and who is good? Truly it is a difficult question to answer. But for a Boys' Club I

*I must dispute the correctness of his statement that inapplication and irresponsibility are characteristics of "poor children." Our slums in all cities are populated with refugees from many lands, and their children's characteristics vary with the race to which they belong. For instance, after eight years' experience among the children of Polish and Russian Jews in New York, I should say that inapplication and irresponsibility are not by any means noticeable deficiencies among them.

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should say without hesitation, keep out those boys who steal or gamble. Boys who are incapable of love, gratitude or pity—they are very rare, happily—are more truly bad than the thieves and gamblers, who are usually more the result of environment than of inborn viciousness. But, for a Club, it is better to keep out boys of the latter class for several reasons. In the first place, stealing and gambling are the commonest sins indulged in by street boys, and they are by far the most dangerous in their results. But, above all, the danger to a Club in admitting such boys is, that stealing and gambling are very contagious. The boys already in the club, however, must be made to understand that the so-called "bad boys" are not barred out from the Club as a punishment. A self-righteous attitude on the part of the members would be worse than the bad habits they condemned. They must know that a Club exerts a great influence in the neighborhood, and that this influence can only be a good one if the Club records itself on all occasions as being opposed to such dangerous practices as stealing and gambling.

Although a good Club will have a great influence with outside boys, within its own four walls it does its most important work. The boys who are admitted as members, although they do not steal or gamble, yet need to be taught the "essential qualities of right living," and, as I have said before, a better means to accomplish this end than rigid discipline, persuasion or affection is self-government. When new boys apply for admission this event brings about a condition of affairs in which the simple playing of games no longer fulfils the requirements of club government. The problem of what to do with these applicants is the first, which requires more than the brief suggestion of the director and the momentary attention of the Club. Out of this problem grows the necessity for their having a government of their own. If the boys are to have real self-government they must be given the chance to discuss their problems, and cast their votes. Therefore, after their games, an hour is devoted to a business meeting, which is conducted entirely by the boys.

The most apparent virtue of the business meeting is the power to cure the shyest boy of his self-consciousness. In talking, as the boys are impelled to, before a number of people on the interesting, and often exciting topics concerning the Club, the most nervous boy soon gains confidence and fluency. To be able to express one's ideas in public is an accomplishment of great practical value to every man and woman in this country, but there is a higher end to be obtained through this means. Parliamentary law, without which an orderly meeting is scarcely possible, is the very embodiment of justice and good manners, while the necessity for making, unassisted, wise decisions in the questions of the Club, develops, in a certain degree, wisdom. Prof. J. R. Seeley, in his *Lectures and Essays*, says: "Train and perfect the gift of speech, unfold all that is in it, and you train at the same time the power of thought and of intellectual sympathy."

I will quote an experience which shows how, through the constant friction and polishing of the social life of the Club, such virtues as the boys possess grow slowly to be of finer and more sensitive quality. It was the custom in one club for the boys to organize each year an entertainment. All the boys had tickets to sell for this performance, and it was their custom to attack strangers from up town, friends of their parents—in short, anyone whom they could beguile into buying one or a dozen tickets, quite regardless of whether their victims intended to use these tickets or not. As

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the entertainment was solely for the benefit of the boys' own club, their director disapproved of this method of levying contributions. She dropped a hint to that effect, but it fell on deaf ears. So she waited. Two years later, one of the more thoughtful boys rose at the meeting and protested against this manner of selling tickets. "It isn't exactly dishonest," he said, tentatively; "I guess it isn't high-toned." And the Club as one man agreed with him, and the system was abolished.

In this short article it would be impossible to do more than suggest a few of the possibilities of a Boys' Club. I believe, however, that some day volumes will be written on the subject, and that the ideal club will be a recognized and necessary factor in every child's education.

WINIFRED BUCK.

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